Special Supplement in This Issue:

Nelson Rockefeller: 'Reluctant' Candidate

HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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Bobby's Own Credibility Gap

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

Bobby Kennedy's problem is obviously not money; he gets around to those college field houses and political unions without any visible worry about the travel expenses. But, even as Lyndon Johnson, he suffers from a credibility gap—and it is this that may do him in as a presidential aspirant.

The gap afflicts his relations with labor, the ghetto, the American South, the young, the middle-aged, the elderly and those patriots who make a free South Viet Nam the test of loyalty to the image of the U.S. It is a fairly inclusive list.

The astounding thing about the Kennedy candidacy for the Democratic presidential nomination is that Walter Reuther, boss of the United Automobile Workers, didn't move publicly into the Kennedy orbit the very day after Lyndon Johnson abdicated. Reuther may, of course, pronounce for Bobby any day. But organized labor as a whole is for Hubert Humphrey. A prime reason for this is that union leaders still regard an attack on any one of them as an attack on unions as an institution.

Back in 1957 Bobby Kennedy, as counsel for the McClellan Committee, bore in heavily against Teamster boss Jimmy Hoffa, "the enemy within." Hoffa eventually went to jail. Few labor leaders would go so far as to defend Hoffa's career in print, but, being human, they blame Kennedy, not Hoffa, for giving the labor movement a black eye.

So it is no mystery when George Meany, the AFL-CIO boss, supports Hubert Humphrey, no mystery when the International Ladies Garment Workers Union paper, *Justice*, quotes ILGWU President Louis Stulberg as saying he's "still for a Johnson-Humphrey ticket," and no mystery when labor attorney Murray Baron decides to uphold the Humphrey ideals by running for the New York Liberal party designation as a candidate for the U.S. Senate from New York state.

The ghetto doesn't believe Kennedy, because his concern for promoting a mixture of free white enterprise and Negro "green power" organizations that have sprung from the grass roots. Ask Dr. Thomas Matthew, the instigator of 15 black "green power" enterprises in the New York and Los Angeles areas, if this isn't true [see *Human Events*, Dec. 16, 1967, page 6].

The South doesn't go for Kennedy, because it considers him implacable in trying to force the pace of integration when he was attorney general.

Some of the susceptible young tumble over themselves to touch Bobby's hand and to snatch at his clothes during those campus appearances of the Kennedy entourage. But when Bobby jumped into the presidential struggle after McCarthy's moral victory in New Hampshire, I heard youngsters say that such opportunism was "disgusting." This is still the attitude of a lot of the young who march under the McCarthy banner.

The middle-aged and the elderly never did go for the Kennedy mystique. The increase in Social Security benefits was LBJ's gift to the old folks. Hubert Humphrey, as LBJ's loyal lieutenant, will cash in on the LBJ concern for the elderly; and the middle-aged businessmen are satisfied that Humphrey, after flirting with Socialistic panaceas in his earlier career, is now a convinced supporter of the free business system.

In the course of the Senate investigations of the Teamsters' Union, Robert Kennedy was the zealous general counsel of the investigating committee. With him in this 1956 photo are Senators John L. McClellan (D.-Ark.) and Joseph R. McCarthy (R.-Wis.).

Finally, there are the patriots who resent it when Bobby supports the aspirations of the National Liberation Front to representation in South Viet Nam. This should not be interpreted to mean that Bobby himself lacks patriotism; it is only to say that he doesn't satisfy those numerous patriots who think he is undermining Lyndon Johnson's future bargaining position at the peace table.

The real Bobby Kennedy may be pro-labor, he may be perfectly sincere in wishing to spread "green power" in the ghetto, he may not be an enemy of the South, he may really love the young, and he could be just as pro-business as Hubert Humphrey and as pro-old age as Lyndon Johnson. But his "images" need swift renovation everywhere if he is really to build up the steam needed to wrest the nomination away from other candidates at the Chicago convention. If he has any political sense he will stop trying to wow the campuses and will begin to pay more attention to people old enough to vote.

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HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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● A Washington businessman says **Stokely Carmichael** entered his establishment after the riots and remarked that it was awfully strange that this was one of the few places in the immediate area that had not been burned down. "How did that happen?" wondered Stokely. The man didn't know. Shifting subjects rapidly, Stokely then asked the fellow if he could possibly come up with $300 to help Stokely's friends in jail. "How do you want it," the response came quickly, "cash or check?" The store was not burned.

● Intelligence sources in Washington say Stokely was hesitant about what to do following King's murder until he received a call from the **Cuban press agency,** Prensa Latina, in New York. Following the call, Stokely appeared in the streets of Washington waving a pistol and urging blacks to "go get guns."

● **Betty Furness,** LBJ's special adviser on consumer affairs, shocked newspaper editors she addressed in Washington last week by virtually exonerating arsonists, looters and rioters who have wreaked an enormous amount of damage in cities throughout the country. She suggested that the destruction of the cities was perfectly understandable in view of the fact that "the poor are being swindled" or just "feel they're being swindled" by neighborhood merchants. Though scores of honest shopkeepers had their businesses wiped out by criminal violence, Miss Furness had the gall to suggest that honestly operated stores are spared from destruction. Capitol Hill verdict: Miss Furness' statements are raw meat for potential rioters and LBJ should sack her as quickly as possible.

● Loyal fans of John F. Kennedy were not exactly pleased with former Defense Secretary Robert McNamara's first statement in praise of **Bobby Kennedy** during the Cuban missile crisis. The McNamara statement, worked on by Bobby aide Theodore Sorensen, strongly creates the impression that Bobby was the whole show during the operation and that JFK just sat around nodding "yes" to all of Bobby's decisions.

● Here's how the radical **Students for a Democratic Society** aids mankind: A Boston realtor, Maurice Gordon, offered to give a half-million dollars to Boston University's new school of nursing. To his astonishment and that of the university, the school was put under a picketing siege by the SDS on the grounds that Gordon allegedly owns slum properties. The picketing grew into threats of personal violence against him and his family if they attended the dedication of the building scheduled to bear his name. Eventually, Gordon withdrew his gift and his name—and a nursing school is out $500,000.

● GOP researchers have collected massive information that links Bobby to the radical left. Should Bobby receive the Democratic nomination, Republican spokesmen are prepared to charge that at least **three RFK campaign** aides have been affilated with the revolutionary Students for a Democratic Society.

● Security officials report that hard-core Communists played a key role in the formation last week of the **National Black Anti-Draft, Anti-War Union.** The group, set up in New York by some 300 delegates from every part of the country, proclaims it is dedicated to "doing anyting to keep black cats out of the service." The Anti-War union sent a cable to the Viet Cong "wholeheartedly endorsing and supporting your struggle for national liberation and self-determination."

● Testimony released by the Senate Armed Services Committee last week revealed that the skipper of the **U.S.S. Pueblo** had radioed messages that secret electronics gear and classified documents were falling into enemy hands as North Korean sailors boarded the intelligence ship January 22.

● Diplomats are distressed that LBJ has named former Michigan Gov. **G. Mennen (Soapy) Williams** as ambassador to the Philippines, where the Communist Huks are active again. When Williams was assistant secretary of state for African affairs, remarked one Foreign Service officer, he "always sided with the leftists and the Communists."

● **Rockefeller backers** say their man would do better against Bobby Kennedy than would Richard Nixon. Not so, say political observers. Rocky, unlike Nixon, would have virtually no chance of corralling a significant number of electoral votes in the South, and Rocky would find it difficult to dent Bobby's support among Catholics in the big cities up North because of his divorce and remarriage.

● Kansas Republicans are surprised by the endorsement given Nelson Rockefeller by GOP Sen. **James Pearson.** Sources close to the senator report that in 1966, when Pearson was engaged in a tight primary fight, Rockefeller quietly offered much-needed campaign funds. The New York governor was apparently thinking ahead.

● The liberal chairman of a **powerful House committee** is reported by colleagues to be "completely senile." He has not attended a committee session in more than a year and "has no idea who he is," according to the committee counsel. Nevertheless, the chairman is seeking re-election and is expected to win.

● Military spokesmen say that Richard Henry's Department of the Army **security clearance** has been "suspended" pending a hearing on his advocacy of a "separate black nation" in the United States with fire-breathing revolutionist Robert Franklin Williams as president (see Human Events, April 13, page 4). Henry, who prefers his "Swahili" name of Brother Imari, had been working as a civilian on classified projects for the Army's Tank-Automotive Command outside Detroit.

● The **Guardian,** a cited Communist publication under its old name, the National Guardian reports that **English-language broadcasts** from Radio Havana may be picked up each day in the U.S. on the following bands: 3:50 p.m. to 4:50 p.m. on 19m. band at 15285 Kc/s and 15230 Kc/s; 8:00 p.m. to 11:50 p.m. on 31m. band at 15230 Kc/s; 8:00 p.m. to 1:00 a.m. on 19m. band at 15285 Kc/s; 10:30 p.m. to 1:00 a.m. on 25m. band at 11760 Kc/s; 1:30 a.m. to 3:00 a.m. on 31m. band at 9655 Kc/s. All times are Eastern Standard.

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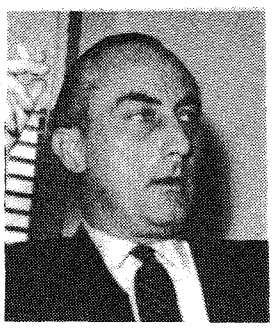
Is Rocky a Republican?

Emmet John Hughes, the former *Newsweek* columnist now heading up Rocky's campaign, admits in his book, *The Ordeal of Power*, that he's a liberal Democrat in his philosophy and that he worked with Ike in 1952 mainly to help smash the conservative wing of the Republican party.



HUGHES

Also, when he was trying to help Rocky beat out Nixon for the GOP presidential nomination in 1960, Hughes told the New York *Post* (Dec. 6, 1959) that he "wouldn't support Nixon under any circumstances."

Hughes said further that he wasn't at all disturbed that a Rockefeller victory might bring in its wake a Democratic Congress. On the contrary, Hughes asserted: "I take for granted a strongly Democratic Congress. I welcome it."

In the same *Post* interview, Hughes said he believed that Rockefeller and he "share identical or similar views on the fundamental issues of foreign policy." In his *America the Vincible*, Hughes, as *Human Events* has previously pointed out, called for recognition of Red China, the dismantling of NATO, stepped up East-West trade and a general appeasement of the Soviet Union and the Communist empire around the globe.

The question is: how can any Republican support Rocky in view of the fact that Hughes is his chief adviser?

The lengthy M. Stanton Evans article published as a special insert in this issue also makes perfectly clear the fact that Rocky's GOP credentials are counterfeit; "He's a rhinestone Republican," remarks one Capitol Hill wag. We suggest readers should write the following members of the "Rockefeller for President" Committee and ask them how they justify their support of this man for the GOP nomination:

Sen. Edward Brooke (Mass.), Sen. Hugh Scott (Pa.), Sen. James B. Pearson (Kan.), Rep. John R. Dellenback (Ore.), Rep. Paul Findley (Ill.), Rep. Charles Goodell (N.Y.), Gov. John H. Chafee (R.I.), Gov. Harold E. Levander (Minn.) and Gov. Tom McCall (Ore.).

• Rocky laid a giant egg last week as he kicked off his presidential campaign with a much-ballyhooed speech before the American Society of Newspaper Editors in Washington. Rockefeller aides had predicted the speech would have a tremendous impact. But the governor, who delivered the speech in a flat, nasal twang, drew no response at all. Not once during his 30-minute exposition on urban affairs did he draw even a hint of applause.

'Don't Anger the Soviets'

Members of the Senate Internal Security subcommittee were frankly annoyed last week after they heard Leonard C. Meeker, Secretary of State Dean Rusk's chief legal adviser, testify against important provisions of S. 2988, Sen. Jim Eastland's omnibus bill to reform America's internal security program.

Meeker protested a number of sections, but he assailed with particular vigor Section 1003 which would establish a Communist Defectors Awards Board and would guarantee personal and financial security in cases of defectors who provide information of value to the United States.

Meeker opposed the measure, however, primarily on the grounds that it would worsen our relationship with Communist satellites in Eastern Europe, virtually all of which are major suppliers of North Viet Nam.

"The department," claimed Meeker, "has carefully considered the section from the point of view of United States foreign policy interest and objectives. It is the department's opinion that the enactment of specific legislation of this nature would seriously prejudice the conduct of the United States relations with countries of Eastern Europe.

"Passage of Section 1003, at the very time when the United States has repeatedly and publicly affirmed the policy of seeking to improve relations with Eastern European countries, would tend to create an atmosphere of ill-will which could only serve to impugn that policy. . . ."

Despite the department's accommondationist objections, however, the subcommittee is expected to report favorably on the Eastland bill.

THIS WEEK'S NEWS *from* INSIDE WASHINGTON

Nixon's Strategic Call

As pointed out in these pages last week, leading GOP presidential contender Richard Nixon has come under considerable fire from House conservatives for his role in getting Congress to adopt the hastily drawn 1968 civil rights act.

NIXON

Nixon not only pressed for adoption of the "open housing" section, which had never undergone proper committee hearings, but he had been urging House Republicans to accept the Senate version of the civil rights bill without any alterations.

Several details about how the former vice president did his lobbying have now come to light:

Such Nixon lieutenants as Rep. Clark MacGregor (R.-Minn.), a leader in the Nixon-for-President drive, helped persuade House Republicans to accept the Senate amendments in toto. Minority Leader Gerald Ford rejected Nixon's personal "no-change" plea, but he granted Nixon a big concession by refusing to make his own position in favor of alterations binding on the party.

Nixon's call to Rep. John Anderson (R.-Ill.), swing man on the important House Rules Committee, turned out to be a crucial move for the fate of the Senate bill.

The Rules Committee had appeared deadlocked over whether to send the Senate bill to a Senate-House conference, where House members could rework the legislation, or to send the bill to the House floor for a vote with a gag rule that would prevent any amendment whatsoever.

The Republican leadership in the House had urged the Senate bill be sent to conference where House lawmakers could have watered down the open housing section, tightened up the anti-riot amendment and restored some important provisions previously approved by the House but dropped by the Senate.

Anderson was deluged with advice. Gerald Ford, GOP Whip Leslie Arends and former House Republican leader Charles Halleck all urged Anderson to send the bill to conference.

Then, however, came a call from Nixon. He urged Anderson to send the bill to the House floor for a quick vote. Under pressures from Nixon and the tense conditions in the country following the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King, Anderson buckled. Though he had previously balked at such a move, he joined with a majority of Nothern Democrats to defeat, by an 8-to-7 vote, a motion to have the bill go to conference. Thus he wound up as the only Republican on the Rules Committee to team with the Democrats to defeat the position staked out by Ford. The Rules Committee then voted to send the bill to the House floor for immediate action.

"If Anderson had held firm," says one congressional insider, "the bill might still be in Rules or over in conference." And Anderson might very well have remained firm, so this same observer concludes, if Richard Nixon hadn't put on the heat.

• A possible GOP presidential contender, California's Gov. Ronald Reagan has so far remained silent on the new federal open housing law. But Reagan has said he would veto any attempt by the Golden State Legislature to overturn California's Rumford Act, that state's open occupancy statute. Although the Rumford Act was decisively rejected by the voters in 1964, with Reagan vigorously supporting its repeal, the California State Supreme Court overturned the voters' desire. Reagan's flip-flop on this issue is viewed by many observers as evidence he is definitely "reassessing" his "non-candidacy."

New Red Rockets

Defense experts in Washington are alarmed over recent Soviet rocket launchings which indicate that the Kremlin is perfecting its ability to deliver nuclear warheads from outer space even though a 1967 treaty agreed to by the United States and the U.S.S.R. supposedly bans outer space nuclear weapons.

Close attention is being paid to these new launchings because the memory is still fresh of Moscow's clandestine development in 1967 of a so-called Fractional Orbital Bombardment System (FOBS).

The FOBS developed by the Soviets can launch an atomic warhead into very low orbit about 100 miles above the earth. At some point before the first orbit is complete, a rocket engine can be fired to guide the warhead to enemy territory. The low trajectory would prevent detection by the U.S. Ballistic Missile Early Warning System designed to give a 15-minute warning against high-trajectory Intercontinental Ballistic Missiles (ICBMs).

When Congress raised the roof charging that the Russian FOBS violated the space treaty, then Defense Secretary Robert McNamara handed the Soviets an out. He said, "They agreed not to place warheads in full orbit. This is a fractional orbit and hence not a violation."

But experts fear that the recent shots reveal that the Soviets are transforming the FOBS into MOBS—Multiple Orbital Bombing System. And the MOBS is fashioned to place a nuclear bomb into full orbit for as long as several months. As in the FOBS system, however, the bomb could be quickly guided to enemy soil from the ground.

The stationing of armed nuclear warheads in orbit would be a clear violation of the outer space treaty—even by former Defense Secretary McNamara's definition. But Defense experts acknowledge that the Soviets might be only too willing to break the treaty if it would be to their advantage.

The Communists publicly broke the 1958 U.S.-Great Britain-USSR moratorium on atomic tests after having secretly violated the moratorium on countless occasions. And they have failed to explain staisfactorily their repeated violations of the 1963 treaty banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere.

Furthermore, military experts believe it would be very difficult, even with our sophisticated detection devices, to discover if a Soviet bomb were really in orbit. At any rate, while the United States continues to look for new ways to disarm itself, the Soviet

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Union goes full speed ahead in developing weapons of mass destruction.

Griswold Raps Militants

Dr. Martin Luther King may be dead, but his organization and ideas live on. The Rev. Ralph D. Abernathy, who took over the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) from King, promises to follow through with the "Poor People's" march on Washington on April 29, despite the recent violence that has attended this city in the wake of King's murder.

ABERNATHY

The SCLC has also not relinquished its role in "peace" matters, for Mrs. Martin Luther King has promised to speak in her husband's place at the anti-Viet Nam war rally to be held in Central Park on April 27.

Abernathy may not have King's charismatic qualities, but his rhetoric and tactics match his mentor's in most respects. The SCLC, says Abernathy, will "lead waves of American poor people in Washington" who will demand guaranteed annual incomes and other welfare measures from Congress. Proclaiming that the march will be "militantly nonviolent," Abernathy talks of "occupying" Washington until the lawmakers cave in to the demonstrators' demands. He says the poor "cannot afford to compromise."

While militant activists are still eager to demonstrate for their goals, there appears to be a growing realization among some liberals that the disciples of civil disobedience may be creating chaos in this country.

Speaking at Tulane University School of Law last week, Erwin N. Griswold, the Department of Justice's solicitor general, opposed "violent opposition to law —any law" and said that "forcible disregard of another's freedom to disagree" is intolerable and "is nothing short of rebellion." "True freedom and substantial justice come not from violent altercation or incendiary dissent. No mob has ever protected any liberty, even its own."

But Griswold also assailed deliberate *non-violent* violation of law for what some may regard as a lofty cause. Griswold cautioned that the "intellectual and practical consequence of indiscriminate civil disobedience is the legitimation of violence of which we have seen too much in America."

• The liberal New York *Times*, interestingly enough, sided with Griswold on his speech. The *Times* said the talk "could be read with profit by the more than 9,300 faculty members who have signed a statement calling on the federal government to squash its indictment against Dr. Benjamin Spock and four others on charges of conspiring to encourage violations of the draft law. . . .

"Dr. Spock and his co-defendants no doubt acted out of deep conscientious concern last year when they participated in the collection of draft cards from war objectors and deposited them with the Justice Department. But they broke the law deliberately, inviting prosecution. Indeed, William Sloane Coffin Jr., one of the defendants, said that federal officials would be 'derelict in duty' if they did not bring action." In calling on the attorney general now to drop the case, the *Times* went on, the faculty members were wrongfully requesting the government to ignore the law.

Talk Site Ploy

Diplomatic experts are sharply criticizing Senators Eugene McCarthy and Bobby Kennedy for "total irresponsibility" in assailing the Administration because it refuses to negotiate with Hanoi in either Cambodia or Poland.

"By attacking the Administration on this point," says one observer, "both Bobby and Gene show they would sell out our Vietnamese friends just to make political hay."

Neither of our two strongest allies, South Viet Nam and South Korea, has diplomatic contact with Poland and both parties would be extremely upset if they didn't have close access to American negotiaters. As to Cambodia, the United States itself has no mission there or no safe line of communications to the outside.

The liberal Washington *Post* delivered a sound rebuttal to those doves who think the negotiating site makes no difference.

"The United States in 1951," said the *Post*, "reluctantly agreed to negotiate the Korean ceasefire at Kaeson (although Gen. Ridgeway had proposed a meeting at sea). When the U.N. negotiators approached they were compelled to fly white flags as though proceeding to a surrender. Admiral Joy and his colleagues were seated on chairs lower than those the Koreans occupied. They were subjected, in the words of one summary, to 'harassment, stinging insult and interminable delay.' The talks that started on July 10, 1951, did not end until July 27, 1953, at Panmunjom, and neither did the fighting. Casualties were greater than those before the talks.

"So the site of the talks is not a matter of small moment. While Hanoi's propaganda makes much of the United States' offer to 'go anywhere' to set up talks, it chooses to overlook the President's statement that we would send our ambassadors to 'Geneva or any other suitable place' for a conference."

Bobby's Publicity Army

A veritable army—2,000 strong—has invaded Indiana to capture that state's presidential delegates for Bobby Kennedy. Commanded by 50 highly paid campaign specialists, the RFK troops have fanned out across the state to accomplish their mission—victory in the May 7 primary.

Logistics of the campaign were disclosed last week by the Chicago *Tribune*. Investigation by *Tribune* reporters revealed that Kennedy aides have installed more than 1,200 phones for their campaign. By comparison, Sen. Eugene McCarthy has installed only seven and favorite-son Gov. Roger Branigin 200.

Kennedy aides have taken over three floors in Indianapolis' Indiana Theater Building, an entire floor in the Sheraton Lincoln Hotel, and 63 rooms in the Marott Hotel. The two hotels are considered Indianapolis' finest.

Observers at Gary and Indianapolis airports report that the Kennedy forces use at least three privately chartered airplanes and more when necessary. As many as 10 advance men precede the candidate into town, arranging for "spontaneous" crowds.

Kennedy has been concentrating his appearances in the more populous areas of northernern and western Indiana. At the same time, his forces have blanketed the state with radio and TV broadcasts, billboards and direct mail advertising. Celebrities—ranging from singer Bobby Darin to astronaut wife Rene Carpenter—represent Bobby when he cannot be present.

"We're up against a juggernaut," complained Democratic State Chairman Gordon St. Angelo, who is backing Gov. Branigin's favorite-son candidacy.

South Carolina GOP

An all-but-overlooked municipal election in Anderson, S.C., on April 9 may hold joyful portents for South Carolina Republicans in the November election. In the Anderson voting, the GOP elected a mayor and seven of eight city council members in what was previously considered a "Democratic stronghold."

The new mayor is Richard Otter, a 33-year-old Pennsylvania transplant who defeated seven-term Democratic incumbent William Johnston, brother of the late Sen. Olin Johnston, once considered the most popular political leader in the state.

Republican leaders are hailing the victory in Anderson, fifth largest city in the state, as "a definite trend in this state in 1968."

Meanwhile, national Republicans see GOP popularity in South Carolina as a good omen in their battle to keep Southern states from going for third-party presidential candidate George Wallace in November. If Southern voters are willing to back GOP candidates for local office in April, they reason, the same voters can be swayed to support a conservative-oriented Republican presidential candidate this fall.

Stokely Carmichael

Stokely Carmichael, who has mapped elaborate plans to take over that "Poor People's March" in Washington, may have helped touch off the new wave of violence and arson that erupted in the Nation's Capital just last week.

CARMICHAEL

When police officers made a routine narcotics arrest last Wednesday, Carmichael sprang into action. He rushed to the arrest scene and harangued some 250 persons with attacks on the "honky" police.

At the same time, SNCC printing presses were turning out deliberately false leaflets, entitled "Racist Cops Strike Again." The handbills, distributed throughout the ghetto, proclaimed:

"A white, honky, racist policeman creeped up behind a black brother . . . and started to choke him and drag him down the street."

Carmichael, the ex-national leader of SNCC, virtually runs the Washington chapter despite his non-official status.

Within hours arsonists had struck throughout the city. Eight major blazes are believed to have been deliberately set, investigators having discovered physical evidence (matches, rags, fragments of bottles, etc.) at the scene. Witnesses saw a man touch off one blaze by hurling Molotov cocktails, but the culprit got away.

Carmichael, himself, as *Human Events* readers are aware, appears to lead a charmed life. He has repeatedly called for violence and killing, he flouts the law by carrying a concealed weapon and he appears to leave violence in his wake wherever he goes. Nevertheless, Stokely remains loose to continue his calls to insurrection.

YAF vs. IBM

Alan MacKay, national chairman of Young Americans for Freedom (YAF), will present the case against East-West trade at the Sheraton-Boston Hotel in Boston, Mass. on April 29.

The occasion: the annual stockholder's meeting of IBM, a central target of YAF for the past several months because of IBM's continued sales of sophisticated computers to Eastern European Communist nations. Reports into YAF's headquarters in Washington indicate growing problems for IBM as a result of YAF's large-scale publicity campaign. IBM, so say its own employes, has suffered order cancellations and stockholder pressures over its trade policies and many stockholders are very displeased with IBM's public relations department.

Stockholders are urged to attend the Boston meeting or, if this is not possible, to write letters of protest about the Red trade deals to IBM headquarters in New York City.

• *House investigators have uncovered voluminous evidence that federal agencies are contributing to the nation's perilous balance-of-payments deficit. The House Research and Technical Programs subcommittee discovered the following government grants: $48,687 to Australian dentists to study the teeth of Australian aborignes; $12,500 to Bermudan authorities to study that island's geologic history during the Pleistocene Age; and $36,000 to Japanese experts to study air polution in Tokyo, Yokohama and Osaka.*

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April 27, 1968

Nelson Rockefeller: 'Reluctant' Candidate

Why He Avoids Primaries

The Coattail Myth

Rocky's Big Weapon: The Press

Rule-or-Ruin Again?

The Men Behind the Governor

By M. STANTON EVANS

Gov. Nelson Rockefeller of New York has launched his third and possibly final bid to become President of the United States. Turning his back on a year of denials, Rockefeller is running and running hard.

The Rockefeller campaign was launched in the form of a "draft," but no one doubts that the governor wants the nomination. It is a full-fledged effort, in which the candidate's asserted reluctance to seek preferment has screened him from the hazards of campaigning. Whether it can win Rockefeller the nomination is doubtful, but it could have profound effect on the Republican party nonetheless.

Rockefeller has hired Emmet John Hughes, a former speech writer for the governor and more recently a columnist for *Newsweek* magazine, to serve as "personal chief of staff"—which, according to the New York *Times*, translates into "campaign chief." For the record, Hughes is supposed to help Rockefeller state his views "clearly and fully" to the American people.

Also indicative is the formation of a "Rockefeller for President" committee under the auspices of Senators Thruston Morton of Kentucky and Hugh Scott of Pennsylvania, businessmen J. Irwin Miller (who supported Lyndon Johnson in 1964), and Walter Thayer, and other allies of the governor. Morton has long consulted with Rockefeller on ways and means of promoting the governor to the White House.

Coinciding with the announcement of his "draft" committee, Rockefeller stated that he might make a formal entry into the race after all, and that if he received the nomination he could win the election. "If I didn't think so," he told the assembled newsmen, "I wouldn't be here."

All of this is in seeming conflict with previous Rockefeller statements. For the preceding 12 months he had declared he had no interest in the White House, talked up George Romney, and turned down some obvious opportunities to enter the affray. He portrayed himself as a man content, no longer hungering for higher office. "The old avidity is gone," he told *Life* magazine. "It's different now. Maybe it's maturity or experience, or just the effects of a happy life, but the old ambition subsides."

The contradiction between this stance and Rockefeller's current behavior is, however, purely formal. Rockefeller indifferent and Rockefeller available are phases of a single strategy. Just as his recent conduct makes it plain that he wants to run for President, so did his previous statements make it plain that he wanted to run in a particular way. Most obviously, he wanted to avoid involvement in the party primaries.

Rockefeller's actions and statements reveal two principal objectives: To obtain the Republican nomination for himself or, failing that, to become the ruling element in party councils at Miami Beach. To achieve either of these things, he must have leverage. He must be able to come before the convention as a popular messiah who can sweep the GOP to victory in the fall—the one sure "winner" to whom the party can look for guidance.

The primaries would have been fatal to this program. Popular messiahs should, after all, be able to win some primary elections – but preliminary surveys suggested Rockefeller could do nothing of the sort. They showed he would have lost badly in Nebraska, not to mention such places as Wisconsin or Indiana. Even in Oregon, where he won in 1964, his chances against Richard Nixon were rated only so-so. It became obvious that the primaries would have to be forgotten. Like the armies of Xerxes or the air force of the UAR, Rockefeller's legions must avoid the test of battle to maintain their reputations.

The strategy of evasion is not, for Rockefeller, a new one. He adopted the same approach, for the same reasons, in 1960—skirting the primaries, nourishing his leverage with public statements of liberal tendency, building the notion that he was someone to be dealt with at the national convention. The performance did not get him the nomination, but it did permit him to exert his influence on the proceedings at Chicago. His minimal goals this time out seem to be essentially the same.

Optimists in the Rockefeller camp, believing their own publicity, originally thought the nomination was his for the taking—that he could bowl over Nixon and take the Miami convention by storm. Given his official status in the party, this is an understandable misconception. On first appraisal, Rockefeller looks like a very strong candidate. He is the dean of Republican governors, ruling over a state which has long been the giant of Republican and national politics alike. And he will be firmly in charge of the largest single delegation at Miami—a healthy 92 votes. These are important assets.

Rockefeller also has stupendous sums of money at his disposal. The wealth of the Rockefeller family has been estimated to be as high as $10 billion. Money is a crucial factor in political combat, and there is no politician, including Robert Kennedy, who has more of it or greater readiness to use it for political effect. What such splendor can mean in a major election is suggested by Rockefeller's 1966 gubernatorial race, in which

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his family contributed $3.5 million and Rockefeller personally, according to the calculation of an aide, tossed in another $5 million.

Finally, the governor would seem to have the incentive to use these great resources. He is accustomed by family background and otherwise to sitting at the head of the table. A New York Republican quoted by *U.S. News & World Report* puts it: "Nothing stands in his way. Nothing. He always gets what he wants." Add the fact that Rockefeller will turn 60 a month before the Miami convention, which means that by 1972 he will be approaching senior citizen status; it becomes apparent that, if he is ever to become President, 1968 almost certainly has to be the year.

The governor has insisted on hanging back, forswearing his old avidity, and staying buried in the midden of his old denials, not because he wanted to, but because he had to. It should be plain that nothing could cancel his immense advantages except some equal and opposite disadvantages. And in this respect, as in others, the governor is richly blessed. He has weaknesses unmatched by any other Republican—weaknesses which made it impossible for him to seek the nomination by direct assault. Foremost among these, and central to the rest, is his continuing estrangement from the majority opinion of his party.

That Old 'Divisiveness'

At his "withdrawal" press conference, Rockefeller alluded to this problem with unusual candor. "Ideally," he said, "the presidential candidate of each of our two major parties should reflect as broadly as possible the will and the spirit of its leadership across the country. By this criterion, I could not truthfully claim such a Republican following today." For that reason, he said, his entry into the race would be "divisive."

Considering the previous claims advanced in Rockefeller's behalf, this must be viewed as an historic statement. In the 1964 campaign, Rockefeller portrayed himself as the living embodiment of Republican opinion. He said he represented the "mainstream" of the party, that his conservative opposition was peopled with frowzy and dangerous eccentrics, and that he spoke for "the overwhelming majority of Republicans."

A typical Rockefeller broadside in '64, for example, urged the GOP electorate to back a candidate (himself) who would "represent a consensus of a great segment of the American people who believe in progress, in moderation and in responsibility," and to reject a candidate (Goldwater) who represented "a militant minority, mesmerized by a mythical yesterday, and devoid of programs for today's and tomorrow's problems."

On the available data, Rockefeller's March confession is a good deal nearer to the truth—a fact which liberal journalists would do well to file for future reference. Its bearing on the continuing struggle for Republican supremacy is very great. The GOP, on every index known to us, is a conservative institution, unfriendly to liberal candidates like Nelson Rockefeller.

Opinion surveys, for example, show the GOP rank and file about 4 to 1 in favor of the designation "conservative" over the designation "liberal"—which is one of the reasons the liberals have taken to calling themselves "moderates." Party officials and elected representatives also line up, by large margins, on the right side of most political issues. Vote tabulations compiled by Americans for Constitutional Action show conservatives to be heavily in the majority among congressional Republicans. ACA ratings for 1967 disclose no less than 148 of 187 House Republicans with pro-conservative marks of 70 per cent or above.

In the Senate, where the Republicans are less conservative, the distance between Rockefeller and the GOP majority is also apparent. On the 1966-67 ACA ratings, 20 of the 36 Republican senators have pro-conservative marks in the 70 per cent and over bracket. Rockefeller's ideological confederate, Jacob Javits, racked up a 16 per cent ACA average over this same two-year span.

If Rockefeller has fared badly on such indirect tests, he does even worse on direct ones. All the data show party officials with a generally hostile attitude toward the New York governor.

An October 1963 survey of Republican county chairmen found, for example, that Barry Goldwater was favored over Rockefeller by the astonishing margin of 1,194 to 56. A December 1967 canvass of these officials found him far behind both Richard Nixon and Ronald Reagan. Nixon received 981 votes, Reagan 412, and Rockefeller 268.

Rockefeller's effort to appeal to the Republican rank and file has been equally unimpressive. This year's New Hampshire primary was supposed to be a big psychological boost getting Rockefeller's non-campaign off the ground. The result was exactly the opposite. His total vote was so small that his backers were unable to claim even a "moral" victory.

This setback continued the New Yorker's generally losing record in Republican primary races. When he ran in New Hampshire in 1964, he came in third behind Henry Cabot Lodge and Goldwater. He pulled out a single win in Oregon, but then went on to lose the climactic battle in California. Over all, Rockefeller was far outclassed in the '64 primaries, securing 1,262,539 votes to Goldwater's 2,147,993.

Rockefeller's one source of strength within the party is supposed to be among the Republican governors. According to journalistic authority, most GOP chief executives are "moderates" and therefore want Rocky as the nominee. Roscoe Drummond says "the governors" prefer Rockefeller by a 3-to-1 margin "over any other candidate." The essentially liberal and pro-Rockefeller character of the Republican governors has been asserted so often and by so many sources that it is an article of faith among some political commentators.

At this writing, however, small evidence has been produced to justify such assertions. Every effort to get the governors on the line for Rockefeller has failed. It is interesting to note, for example, that Romney timed his withdrawal from New Hampshire to coincide with a GOP governors' meeting in Washington, stating that he did so to let them unite behind a "moderate"—meaning Rockefeller. This maneuver fell flat. According to the New York *Times*, a pro-Rockefeller petition circulated at the meeting garnered "less than one-third of the maximum possible signatures."

David Broder of the Washington *Post*, a liberal who maintains close surveillance on the activities of GOP conservatives, has exposed the fallacy of the argument about "the governors." When Rockefeller first declared himself interested in making the '68 race, Broder notes, "it quickly became apparent that the liberal Republicans had been kidding themselves about his strength. Instead of the 17 or 18 (of 26) Republican governors they claimed were in his camp, exactly six came to the first major meeting on his prospective candidacy. Instead of the 25 senators (of 36) supposed to be favorable to him, 17 came to meet him for breakfast and five of the 17 told him to his face that they were for Nixon."

In fact, Rocky's support has been slipping even among those few governors who have previously rallied to his candidacy. Maryland Gov. Spiro T. Agnew, a former avid Rockefeller fan, became disillusioned with the governor when he failed to test Nixon in the primaries and he was conspicuously absent from the "draft Rocky" committee established by Morton. And Gov. Warren Hickel of Alaska, who had also supported Rocky, has now joined the Nixon team.

If Rockefeller can muster so little support among the governors it would seem his party backing is meager, indeed. The point is conceded by Rockefeller ally George Hinman, New York's Republican National Committeeman. Hinman stated in 1967 that "it is nice to see Nelson finally coming into his own. But I'm afraid the talk about him comes mostly from the publicists. . . . So far as I can see, the sentiment for him is an Eastern phenomenon."

Similar comment is offered by the National Committee for an Effective Congress, a far-out liberal group promoting Rockefeller for the presidency. NCEC acknowledges that Rockefeller is out of tune with majority Republican sentiment, and asserts that to get the nomination he must somehow win over "the conservative leadership of the congressional Republicans . . ." It quotes as accurate commentary the remark of one New England Republican: "For all the Rockefellers, Javitses, and Lindsays in New York, the Republican party across the land is conservative."

These are the essential facts explaining Rockefeller's presidential toe-dance. He could not afford a head-on challenge before a party constituency so thoroughly out of tune with his sentiments and political history. He faces the same problem Mississippi Sen. James O. Eastland would face if he set out to become the Democratic presidential nominee: He does not represent his party.

Rockefeller and his advisers have long recognized the basic difficulty confronting them and tried, by one method or another, to work around it. The governor has made occasional efforts to suggest he is a conservative fellow and that rank-and-filers in Nebraska or Illinois should not be afraid of him.

Seeking the 1964 presidential nomination, for example, he travelled to the hinterlands bearing rhetorical gifts of manly enterprise and balanced budgets. But the record makes it plain that this was rhetoric only. Rockefeller's own liberalism is quite as clear as the conservative outlook of the national party. He made his political debut as a liberal, and he remains a liberal today.

About the Author

M. Stanton Evans, the editor of the Indianapolis News and a former managing editor of HUMAN EVENTS, is one of America's best-known conservative authors. He writes a bi-weekly column for National Review, contributes to many other publications and is in constant demand as a speaker around the country. His most recent books are "The Law-Breakers" (Arlington House) and "The Future of Conservativism" (Holt, Rinehart and Winston).

II: 'Nelson Roosevelt'

Nelson Rockefeller's career in public life began in 1940, under the auspices of Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal.

Rockefeller was brought into the federal government at the urging of Roosevelt's alter ego, arch-liberal Harry Hopkins. At Hopkins' suggestion he was named to head an agency handling Latin American problems. Reporter Don Irwin of the late *Herald-Tribune* notes that Rockefeller's principal early assignment was a secret detail from Hopkins—preparing a blacklist of German-infiltrated business firms.

According to David Nevin of *Life*, Rockefeller's New Deal origins have had him on the wrong foot within the GOP from the beginning.

"From the start of his career in government," Nevin says, "he was regarded as a New Dealer turned traitor to his class and as a spender; a quarter-century ago crusty old-line Republicans were sneering 'Nelson Roosevelt.' "

Rockefeller enjoyed a later stint in Washington under the Eisenhower Administration, where he battled strenuously for liberal programs. Laudatory biographer James Poling says he "pleaded for more health, education and welfare at home," and "found himself in bruising conflict with the budget-firsters" of the Eisenhower regime. According to Irwin, "Rockefeller exerted a liberalizing influence that sometimes stretched policy toward the outer limits of 'modern Republican' doctrine. . . ."

Among Rockefeller's stated positions in recent years are support for rent controls, federal "aid" to education, rising minimum wage laws, and expanded welfarism. He has stated that Lyndon Johnson's so-called "creative federalism" is "great . . . the trouble is he hasn't funded it." More specifically, he has said of Johnson: "His anti-poverty program will go down in history."

Rockefeller has described the growth of federal power as "irreversible," and asserted that "government is involved in almost every phase of our lives. . . . You've got to recognize this fact, *and accept it*, in order to control government and protect the role of the individual." (Emphasis added.)

The governor has not been particularly concerned about protecting the role of the individual, however, where government-backed labor unions are concerned. He is in favor of compulsory union membership and proclaims his "forthright opposition to so-called 'right-to-work' legislation." He states that "just as I believe in the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively, so do I believe in the American tradition of majority rule. The so-called 'right-to-work' laws violate this tradition."

It is difficult to find any liberal domestic program which Rockefeller does not favor. He has backed Medicare and "Medicaid," called for "acceleration of urban renewal programs," and proclaimed "continued support for public housing." He has stated that "some form of subsidized housing" is necessary "since private enterprise obviously cannot meet this need. Public housing, if

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properly administered, can be a continuing asset. . . ."

In August 1967 Rockefeller said racial turmoil was a sign of progress. On a visit to Montreal, he stated: "There have been a lot of changes recently in the racial situation and several forces have been unleashed, but they're part of the forces of progress. . . . I'm optimistic. The racial situation is a sign of progress and I believe things are improving rapidly."

Rockefeller's assertions on the desirability of federal "aid" are identical to those of the liberal Democrats. In a 1962 television interview, he stated that, "on the whole, the programs that are initiated by the federal government have been constructive programs. . . . My impression was that . . . talk of usurpation of taxing powers was merely an excuse on the part of the governors for not doing some of the things they should have been doing because they did not have the courage to ask for the taxes."

As a young man, Rockefeller was active in international affairs; the Rockefeller family donated the land in New York City for the U.N. building. Above, at one of the founding conferences in 1945 of the United Nations, Rockefeller chats with Secretary of State Edward Stettinius.

Rockefeller has shown that he, at least, has the courage to ask for the taxes, and then some. Although running for office on a "no new taxes" platform, he has presided over three different tax increases and recently asked for a fourth. According to the Citizens Public Expenditure Survey of Albany, "the taxpayers of New York state . . . pay more in federal, state and local taxes than their counterparts in the other 49 states." State spending under Rockefeller has gone from $1.99 billion in 1959-60 to $5.49 billion in the 1968-69 budget, a rather fantastic increase of 176 per cent. To pay for all this, Rockefeller pushed through tax increases in 1959, 1963 and 1965, and this year asked for a surtax boost of 20 per cent.

Although Rockefeller used to make a big issue out of balancing income and outlay in a "pay as you go" policy, those oratorical flights are now forgotten. The governor has completely reversed himself on this issue as indebtedness has skyrocketed upward. Alan L. Otten of the *Wall Street Journal* observes:

"Like many politicians [Rockefeller] tends to an 'end justifies the means' approach that permits him to abandon principle and switch positions. For the most part this backsliding and flip-flopping has brought him a minimum of criticism. In his early years, he trumpeted his allegiance to 'pay as you go' financing, attacked Democratic plans to borrow heavily to pay for new state programs. Then, as his own plans grew more expensive, he not only embraced borrowing but outdid the Democrats in devising ingenious plans for costly construction of university, mental health and other projects."

Otten notes that, as a result of borrowing outside the budget, Rockefeller's "state spending increases actually are even bigger than they seem." That assertion is supported by Chesly Manly of the Chicago *Tribune*, who reports that New York's outstanding full faith and credit bonds went from $744 million in 1958 to $1.32 billion as of April 1, 1967, that outstanding revenue bonds had gone from zero to $592 million, and that an additional $4.65 billion in bond issues had been authorized. Ray Herman of the Buffalo *Courier Express* says the annual cost of servicing bonded indebtedness in New York has gone from $35 million in fiscal '65 to $80 million in fiscal '69.

The Rockefeller spending and taxing program has become so large and unpopular that New York Democrats have found themselves in the unusual stance of opposition to taxes. Thus the Democratic leader in the state senate, Joseph Zaretzki, announced he would oppose Rocky's request for a 20 per cent surcharge on the state income tax, a 50-cent-a-gallon increase in liquor taxes, and a penny increase in the gasoline tax. "There is a tax revolt on the part of the people," Zaretzki said. "They have reached the limit of their endurance. With the taxpayer now paying a third of his income in local, state and federal taxes, people in my district are saying, 'Please don't tax us any more.' "

'Medicaid Fiasco'

Suggestive of the problems caused by Rockefeller's welfarist enthusiasms is the "Medicaid" program—a spin-off from the federal Medicare statute—which allows anyone to seek free medical care, regardless of age, so long as his annual income is under $6,000. This was launched in early 1966 with Rockefeller, as the New York *Daily News* put it, among its "most enthusiastic backers."

The result was a rush for "free" medical services, near-bankruptcy for many local taxing units, and an enormous strain on state resources. Some counties were forced to cut down or suspend essential services in order to pay bills for medical freeloaders.

John Mulroy, Onondaga County executive, asserted in the fall of 1967 that "I had to cut the sheriff's office, strip the highways department, halt work in the parks and stop all salary raises, all to pay Medicaid bills." Peter Corning, a councilman in Auburn, N.Y., asserted: "Our road program was cut in half, our police department has been curtailed, and there is no end in sight." Edward Brombley of Clinton County said: "In 1965 our welfare costs were about $240,000. By the end of this year we estimate that our welfare costs, including the Medicaid program, will have risen to $4 million."

Confronted by these complaints, Rockefeller told local officials they "should be grateful" that the state and federal governments were bearing so much of the burden, and proposed that the state take over local welfare services entirely. He asserted that "Medicaid was one of the greatest programs started by Social Security" and said "compulsory health insurance should be considered not only on a state basis, but a national basis as well."

The compulsory health insurance proposal was advertised as a method of bailing the state out of the "Medicaid" snafu. The Citizens Public Expenditure Survey saw it otherwise. Spokesman Robert Van Slyke said the proposed plan was "clear evidence and an obvious admission that . . . [the] Medicaid legislation was a mistake. Instead of correcting that mistake, this proposal would repeat the same folly of enacting a new program in a rush without time for adequate consideration and evaluation."

Nor did local officials take kindly to Rockefeller's suggestion that the state pre-empt local welfare programs. The Republican mayor of Auburn rapped Rocky's proposal before a meeting of local officials "to general applause," according to the New York *Times*.

"It's like carrying your change in one pocket," the mayor said, "and wearing out a hole in the pocket and then putting your change in the other pocket. You'll have a hole in the other pocket before you know it."

Rockefeller's chief political blunder to date—the act most indicative of his liberal outlook—was his intervention in the New York City garbage strike.

In this episode he performed the improbable feat of outflanking Mayor John Lindsay on the left, an accomplishment which had previously eluded all other Republicans and most Democrats. Confronted by an illegal strike of New York sanitation workers, Lindsay at last proved there were limits beyond which he would not go in appeasing leftward interest blocs. Rockefeller immediately stepped in and indicated that, so far as he was concerned, there were no limits at all.

A brief review of the events involved in the garbage strike may be in order. Some 10,000 members of the Uniformed Sanitationmen's Association had struck the five boroughs of New York City, causing over 10,000 tons of refuse to pile up daily and compelling the Board of Health to declare the first citywide health emergency since 1931. The strike was in brazen defiance of a restraining order and the state's Taylor Law which forbids strikes by public employes.

As the strike continued Mayor Lindsay, with uncharacteristic courage, refused to negotiate with the union until it ordered its members back to work. When the santitation association spurned the opportunity to negotiate under these conditions and when other governmental unions refused to come to the city's aid, Lindsay requested Rockefeller to send in the National Guard to help clean up the city's uncollected trash.

'Political Cowardice'

Lindsay acknowledged that having troops come in would face opposition, but he stressed that the union members "are striking in defiance of New York state law and their own union charter. As members of a uniformed service, they have no moral or legal right to cripple an essential city function to achieve their own ends."

Rockefeller, however, thought differently on the matter. In one fell swoop, he undercut Lindsay, the restraining order and the Taylor law, a measure which, ironically enough, he had previously helped push through the legislature. Instead of calling out the guard, Rocky designated a special mediation panel to deal with the illegally striking union and to foster an "agreement" he released from jail union President John J. DeLury, an old Rockefeller ally. The governor then forced through a settlement granting the union virtually all of its demands.

Even the New York *Times*, which has often spoken up for Rockefeller, was outraged by this performance. The *Times* laid on a verbal whip a good deal more punishing than the comments of conservative Republicans. "Sabotage," "surrender," "appeasement" and "political cowardice," were a few of the choicer epithets. The governor's action, the *Times* said, "has made him an open ally of the union in its defiance of the model law." The paper further asserted:

"Respect for law and for elected authority cannot survive such sabotage by the state's chief executive. The mayor called for a confrontation with lawlessness; the governor opted for the payment of ransom. In the time-dishonored language of appeasement, he stressed the cheapness of the proposed settlement—only $250,000 on top of the formula originally recommended by the mayor's own mediators.

"How tragic, after two decades of mounting exactions from the municipal treasury by unions flouting court injunctions, that it was necessary for Mr. Lindsay to remind the

Biographical Highlights

- Born Bar Harbor, Maine, July 8, 1908
- Graduated Dartmouth College, 1930
- Married Mary Todhunter Clark, June 23, 1930
- Executive of Rockefeller Center, Inc., 1931-1958
- Co-ordinator of Inter-American Affairs, 1940-44
- Assistant Secretary of State, 1944-45
- Chairman, International Development Advisory Board (Point 4 Program), 1950-51
- Under Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare, 1953-54
- Special Assistant to President Eisenhower, 1954-55
- Chairman of the President's Advisory Commission on Governmental Organization, 1953-58
- Elected Governor of New York State, 1958
- Unsuccessfully sought the Republican Presidential Nomination, 1960
- Divorced by Mary Clark Rockefeller, March 1962
- Re-elected Governor of New York State, 1962
- Married Margaretta Fitler (Happy) Murphy, May 1963
- Unsuccessfully sought the Republican Presidential Nomination, 1964
- Re-elected Governor of New York State, 1966

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governor that there is no such thing as a little blackmail."

There should have been nothing particularly surprising about Rockefeller's behavior in the garbage strike. He has long courted the labor union chiefs and gone out of his way to help them get what they want. Among his prior efforts in this respect were laws allowing hospital employes and workers at nonprofit institutions to unionize, and a 1966 intervention in behalf of transit workers who had violated an earlier no-strike law. In this previous case, he had asked that strikers be spared by the courts.

Through these actions and his close political relations with the labor moguls, Rockefeller has become, according to Victor Riesel, "the nation's most pro-labor governor. . . ." It is therefore unastonishing that he should have taken the side of the garbage union in its illegal strike. It becomes even less astonishing when we reflect that the head of that union, John DeLury, was a major political ally—described by the *Times* as "the most effusive of all Mr. Rockefeller's labor supporters."

III: Feeding the Doves

Rockefeller backers will concede he is thoroughly liberal on domestic matters, but suggest his "conservative side" is discernible in foreign policy. He is alleged to be a stern anti-Communist who has favored a tough policy in Viet Nam.

A recent piece by Robert Boyd of the Chicago *Daily News* says, for example, that Rockefeller's over-all position is "a complex pattern woven of both liberal and conservative threads." Cited in evidence is his alleged "hard line against communism abroad, including general approval of the Johnson Administration's stand in Viet Nam."

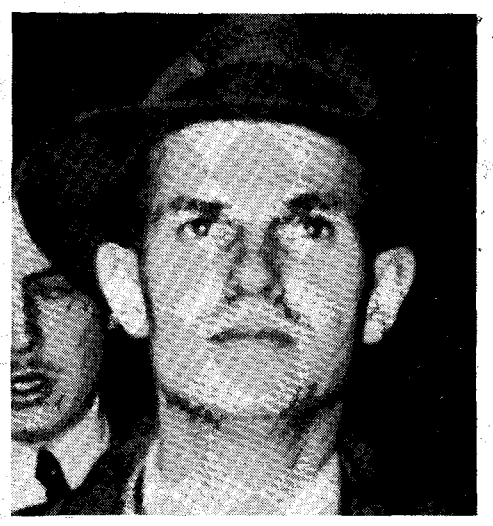
On examination, Rockefeller's hard line against communism is something like his "pay as you go" rhetoric in New York state domestic matters. He has dealt frequently in conservative generalizations, but when it gets down to specifics the conservatism begins to fade. The governor has fueled commentary of the Boyd sort by making some generally tough observations on Viet Nam, the shape of the Cold War in general and such problems as the Communist regime in Cuba. In the clinches, however, he has done almost nothing to advance the hard-line position.

The Hiss Case

A striking example of the Rockefeller effort to endear himself to conservative elements occurred in the 1964 New Hampshire primary. In a speech delivered in Manchester, N.H., Rockefeller held forth on the dangers of internal subversion—long a red-meat staple in the conservative diet. The governor told his audience that, when he was attending the founding conference of the United Nations in San Francisco, some FBI agents spoke to him of Alger Hiss:

"They came in one morning and said, 'We have the goods on Alger Hiss.' He was the secretary-general of the conference. This was in 1945, mind you, long before anything else broke. And there also was Harry Dexter White, who was assistant secretary of the Treasury."

(Rockefeller said the FBI informed him that White, credited with being the "brains" of the Treasury Department and a heavy influence on postwar policy toward Europe, had received a $7,500 check from Amtorg, the Soviet trading corporation.)



Rockefeller says he had been informed as early as 1945 about the activities of Alger Hiss (above). The question: Why didn't he speak up at the time? Or during the 1948 investigation?

Thus Nelson Rockefeller in 1964. But where, we are entitled to wonder, was Nelson Rockefeller in 1948, when the Hiss-Chambers case was brewing, or in 1950, when the Hiss perjury trail was in progress?

In the early days of the Hiss dispute, numerous important people in government were saying Hiss was a fine fellow who couldn't possibly have been a Communist. Rockefeller had information which suggested otherwise. Why didn't he come forward and say so?

Similar questions arise concerning Rockefeller's position on Viet Nam. Where is his "hard-line" stance today? The answer is that, precisely as he has re-emerged as a presidential contender, Rockefeller's Viet Nam opinions have become increasingly dove-like.

After some early comments supporting the American commitment, Rockefeller maintained radio silence on the ground that he would let Romney do the liberal Republican talking. While he was performing as Rocky's chosen candidate, of course, Romney flocked with the doves. Simultaneously, stories began to filter out in the press that Rocky had "changed" his views on Viet Nam and was shifting to the dovecote himself.

Thus the *Times* reported, Oct. 4, 1967, that Rockefeller had been "quietly letting it be known that he no longer wholeheartedly supports President Johnson's policy on Viet Nam. . . . Reliable sources said yesterday that the governor is shifting toward a more moderate position."

The next day's papers carried Rocky's carefully worded denial of the "shift," though omitting anything that resembled a hard-line statement. The Washington *Evening Star*, meantime, reported that Rocky told acquaintances that while he had supported Johnson's "stand" on Viet Nam, he "never said he supported the President's policies."

In recent statements Rockefeller has been feeding the doves with a more open hand. In one Delphic pronouncement to columnist Jimmy Breslin he opined that "when your back is against the wall, you don't pull the trigger, you don't call out the troops, you don't drop the bomb."

He has stated that "our concepts as a nation and our actions have not kept pace with changing conditions, or with the realities of the situation." He further asserts that he "would seek a solution, not in continued escalation of the U.S. military effort in Viet Nam," and that he favors "broadening the negotiations to take in the larger interests of all nations with a stake in Asian stability."

To make this semaphore clear, Rockefeller's New York compatriots Javits and Lindsay have come out strongly for the dove position. At a meeting where he pushed the Rockefeller candidacy, Javits stated: "I believe we must stand for a negotiated settlement which alone can bring the Vietnamese war to a close without the danger of World War III. . . ." Lindsay says we must stop "the insane military escalation in Viet Nam. . . " .

The affinity between Rockefeller elements and Democratic "doves" like Eugene McCarthy is notable. A spokesman for a group called "Republicans for McCarthy" (in which Lindsay's brother is a leader), asserts: "Most of the Republicans who are joining would favor a Republican candidate like Rockefeller, but we're very much pro-McCarthy." Sen. Morton, also a "dove" and a Rockefeller confidant, draws the parallel even more sharply. He says the governor's Viet Nam position is "closer to McCarthy than to Johnson."

McCarthy himself seems to share Morton's opinion, since he has had some indirect but friendly things to say about Rockefeller. According to an Associated Press dispatch, Feb. 12, 1968, McCarthy "declined to rule out the possibility he would support Republican Nelson Rockefeller for President." McCarthy asserted he would not support any other Republican candidate should Lyndon Johnson run again, but when asked about Rockefeller he said, "I reserve the right to look at the whole picture come next fall."

Rockefeller has some noted doves in his circle of consultants. Former Gen. James M. Gavin, sponsor of the so-called "enclave" strategy for Viet Nam and an advocate of a U.S. bombing halt without conditions, is a Rockefeller supporter and counselor.

Emmet John Hughes, Rockefeller's "campaign chief," is also in favor of liquidating our Viet Nam commitment. In addition, he is a veteran advocate of recognition of Red China, abandonment of Nationalist China's offshore islands, a pullback of American forces in Europe and Asia and a general accommodationist approach toward the Kremlin. Rocky has also hired Romney's highly dovish foreign policy expert Jonathan Moore, the architect of the Michigan governor's "neutralization" plan for Viet Nam.

Lippmann Knows

That the Rockefeller message has got through successfully is made plain by the comment of Walter Lippmann, a veteran advocate of Cold War accommodation and a militant Vietnik. Endorsing Rockefeller for the presidency, Lippmann says:

"I have never been concerned about Rockefeller's refusal to talk about Viet Nam or align himself as a hawk or a dove. That's a politician's tactic. I have never talked about Viet Nam with the governor because I feel the less he said the freer he would be to commit himself to the inevitable task of liquidating the war. I am sure that he would have to liquidate the war in order to be the kind of President he can be and wishes to be."

The knowing tolerance of Lippmann and other doves has allowed Rockefeller to assume a kind of double position on Viet Nam. Items like the Boyd article describe him as a hard-liner with some appeal to conservatives; reveries of the Lippmann sort laud him as the soul-mate of accommodationists.

The issue is thus deployed to serve contradictory purposes among different constituencies; Republican conservatives can be told that Rockefeller is a staunch anti-Communist and therefore worth nominating; leftward elements can be persuaded that he is one of them and therefore worth working for. He has been a "hawk" for internal Republican purposes, a "dove" for those who find that stance more to their liking.

Emmet John Hughes, a self-proclaimed New Deal Democrat and ex-Newsweek columnist, has signed on with the Rockefeller team as part of the Rocky "brain trust."

'Missile Gap' Myth

Other aspects of Rockefeller's foreign policy performance are equally unproductive of "hard-line" sentiments and actions. Although supposedly tough-minded in matters of national defense, the governor has not done much to prove this quality when it counted. Back during the Eisenhower Administration, he was a major promoter of the "open skies" proposal which constituted an important phase of the on-going delusion of disarmament. Nor was he much in evidence when Barry Goldwater fought to prevent the Moscow test-ban treaty from achieving ratification. His family interests are tied up in a Red-trade promotion with Soviet apologist Cyrus Eaton and Rocky, himself, has advocated increased trade with the Kremlin. His affection for the United Nations seems virtually boundless (he was responsible for keeping the U.N. in New York and obtaining its present opulent headquarters), and he is a bombastic globalizer of world federalist persuasion.

In his book, *The Future of Federalism*, Rockefeller sounds forth on the obsolescence of nation-states in terms which would do credit to the pen of Walt W. Rostow. He asserts that the "federal idea" must cross national boundaries, because events are pushing us to "a common commitment . . . ultimately to the gradual devising of political forms of unity." He adds that "the nation-state is becoming less and less competent to perform its international political tasks. . . ."

As in domestic affairs, Rockefeller's foreign policy views have frequently aligned him with the liberal Democrats.

In the pre-convention maneuvering of 1960, he broke sharply with the Eisenhower Administration on questions of defense. He took up the "missile gap" cry of John Kennedy and Lyndon Johnson, and attacked the Eisenhower regime for assertedly exposing America to Soviet attack. "He was obsessed," Theodore White says, "with the thought that the years 1961 through 1964, the years of the impending missile gap, were years of instant national emergency." The impact of this widely trumpeted obsession, endorsing a principal theme of the Democrats, was obviously great. This issue did as much as any other to defeat Richard Nixon in the fall of 1960.

Compounding the irony is the fact that the "missile gap" charge was entirely untrue. There were no data to support it at the time it was made, and the Kennedy regime blushingly confessed as much in 1961. So deposing, the New Frontier then set about dis-

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mantling America's manned bomber force, pulling back our intermediate-range missiles, putting a halt to further nuclear development, and fighting strenuously against an anti-missile defense.

Rockefeller, who felt constrained to attack his own party on the false "missile gap" charge, has been strangely silent about the continuing program of disarmament. His false attacks on Eisenhower were justified on the grounds of conscience; Republican regulars may well wonder where his conscience in such matters has been slumbering for the past seven years.

There is little in Rockefeller's record, at home or abroad, which seems particularly conservative, or even particularly Republican. Indeed, there is little performance to distinguish him from the most liberal of Democrats.

Poling tells us the platform on which Rockefeller ran in 1958 was exactly like that of Democratic opponent Averell Harriman: "As a result, a curious and surprising feature of the campaign was the inability of the two candidates to discover any issue on which they had a vital difference of opinion."

Closer to D Than R

U.S. News & World Report quotes a prominent Democrat as saying: "Mr. Rockefeller's main trouble is that his own party does not support him. He is closer to liberal Democrats—with a big or little D—than to upstate Republican conservatives." At the national level, UPI's Lyle Wilson similarly reported in 1963 that Sen. Joseph Clark, an ADA Democrat from Pennsylvania, asserted that Rockefeller "really was a liberal Democrat at heart." Don Irwin remarks on Rockefeller's ability, down through the years, to function "in either party climate."

The conviction that Rockefeller is one of them has been frequently expressed by spokesmen for the left. Among those who have voiced enthusiasm for Rockefeller is Arthur Schlesinger Jr., a leader in Americans for Democratic Action who once rejoiced that America could back into socialism through a "series of New Deals." Schlesinger wrote in 1960: "Obviously, the classical Republican party—that wing of the Republicans which regards Nixon as its leader and hope—cannot be the instrument of any sort of national advance. But may not possibilities remain in the Republican camp? . . . Nelson Rockefeller . . . stands out as one politician who plainly glimpses the potentialities of the '60s."

Objecting to Rockefeller's 1963 efforts to ingratiate himself with conservatives, James Wechsler of the New York Post similarly observed, "It is an accident of history—or of birth—that . . . Rockefeller is a Republican. If not for fortuitous circumstances, he might well have been the victorious Democratic presidential candidate in 1960, and perhaps a more aggressive advocate of New Frontierism than John F. Kennedy. . . ."

Wechsler added that "in an informal conversation . . . Rockefeller talked of playing a role comparable to that which Wendell Willkie had attempted—serving as a bipartisan figure in foreign policy while vigorously striving to liberalize the GOP in domestic affairs . . . there seemed no question about his underlying commitment to the cause of the 'welfare state' and his rejection of Old Guard Republican gospel. . . ."

Rockefeller campaign chief Hughes has expressed a like opinion, noting that the governor has seemed "more at home with Democratic policies than with some Republican politicians." Hughes should know whereof he speaks—both from his long association with Rockefeller and his own involvement with the Democratic cause. "In terms of American politics," Hughes told us in *The Ordeal of Power* (page 11), "I most commonly found myself a comrade, in purpose and temper, of the Democrats—and not the more conservative ones. I still do."

Finally, Rockefeller himself has acknowledged the resemblance of his position to that of the liberal Democrats. Richard Whalen, author of *The Founding Father*, quotes Rockefeller as saying: "Liberal Republicans and liberal Democrats often advocate the same programs, but Republicans have the advantage that they can execute them without destroying the confidence of business."

Here indeed is a strange standard to which the Republican party should repair.

Trash piles up on a New York City street in the wake of the Sanitationmen's strike. Rocky's failure to act forcefully to end the strike is considered one of his major political blunders.

IV: The 'Unique Sure Winner'

Commentators who acknowledge Rockefeller's liberalism and isolation from the Republican majority nevertheless believe he has a trump card to play in his bid for party influence: The asserted fact that he is a powerful vote-getter who has proven his ability to win big in New York and who can carry numerous Republican congressmen into office on his coattails.

Erwin D. Canham of the *Christian Science Monitor* gives us a fair sample of this argument when he states: "If the Republicans really want to win the White House, most people with whom I have talked think they should nominate Gov. Rockefeller." Roscoe Drummond says Rocky is "most electable." Joseph Alsop puts it that "Rockefeller comes as near as anyone at this stage to being his party's unique sure winner."

Rockefeller's record in New York does little to sustain these statements. The electoral figures suggest, indeed, that his stature in New York is only slightly above his popularity rating in the Republican party at large—that the electorate there has become increasingly disenchanted with his liberal policies. His party has steadily lost strength during his tenure in Albany, and his own vote totals have dropped precipitously from one election to the next.

It is interesting to compare Rockefeller's actual performance to the "winner" verbiage used in his behalf.

In 1958 he pulled 3,126,929 votes for 53 per cent of the total. In 1962, seeking triumphant re-election as a warm-up for his '64 presidential bid, he dropped to 3,081,587 votes and 51 per cent of the total. And in 1966 his vote skidded down to 2,690,626 and 44 per cent of the total. The constant decline in absolute number of votes and percentage received does not promise much by way of unique sure winning on the national level.

The unimpressive results of 1966 were obtained, moreover, at enormous cost. According to James Perry of the *National Observer*, Rockefeller's campaign "was far and away the most expensive statewide effort put together in this country." Perry estimates that Rockefeller spent $6 million to eke out his victory; the *Times* puts the sum at $10 million.

In either event, immense quantities of money were expended for a saturation TV campaign, tons of printed material, hordes of paid workers. Perry surmises that Rocky outspent Democratic candidate Frank O'Connor by a margin of 10 to 1. A comparable "win" at the national level, assuming the same per-vote expenditure, would cost in the neighborhood of $100 million.

Despite his massive outlays, Rockefeller's minority-vote victory was a hairbreadth affair. And, as Perry notes, "it was a personal victory. New York Republicans failed to win back any of those congressional seats they lost in 1964. They failed to win control of the state assembly. They just barely held their margin in the state senate. It was a personal victory because almost everything was directed to the top of the ticket. . . ."

What Coattails?

Perry's comments highlight one of the major fallacies of the pro-Rockefeller argument—the idea that he would bring in a whole new raft of Republican congressmen. The election data run directly counter to this. If ability to pull congressmen into office is a major criterion of political performance, then Rockefeller is the last man to whom the Republican party should look for guidance. The collapse of the congressional GOP in New York is perhaps the most remarkable aspect of Rockefeller's record.

In 1956, before Rockefeller gained control of the party, the New York delegation in the U.S. House of Representatives featured 26 Republicans and 17 Democrats. The level of Republican strength has dropped steadily over the years: 24 in 1958, 21 in 1960, 14 in 1964. In 1966, when the congressional GOP was making a powerful comeback throughout the nation, Rockefeller's New York party fell on its face. His was one of the few GOP organizations in the country which failed to regain even one congressional seat lost to the Democrats in '64. (One seat was gained, but this single turnover did not involve any of the freshman Democrats.)

The net result, after eight years of the Rockefeller brand of "winning," was that the New York congressional delegation had gone from 26 to 17 in favor of the Republicans to 26 to 15 in favor of the Democrats.

As a percentage of the total vote, the story is equally depressing. The New York GOP has failed to secure a majority in each of the last five elections. In 1958, when Rockefeller was elected, the New York Republicans secured only 48.6 per cent of the congressional vote. In the succeeding four elections, the percentages have been 46.5, 48.3, 40.2 and 43.1, respectively. As a memorandum from the Republican Congressional Committee puts it: "The GOP has been losing House seats in the Eastern part of the country. . . . The losses in New York state are most noticeable."

Liberal columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak suggest that as presidential nominee Rockefeller would help pull other Republicans into office on his coattails. Yet available figures show he has almost no "coattails" at all. In 1966 he did not run ahead of his state ticket, but behind it. So far was he from helping to carry other Republicans into office that it would be more accurate to suggest that down-the-line local candidates were carrying him, much as the congressional nominees for the Democrats carried Truman in 1948 and Kennedy in 1960.

A confidential survey by the New York state Office of Legislative Research demonstrates the point. It reveals that, in 57 districts studied, no less than 48 GOP state legislative candidates received a higher percentage of the total vote cast for the offices they sought than did Rockefeller. This means 84.2 per cent of the GOP candidates outperformed Rockefeller on a percentage basis. Moreover, 41 of the 57 candidates, or 71.9 per cent, actually received more total votes in their districts than did the governor.

The survey concludes that "many Republican candidates had their own bases of support and conducted especially effective campaigns that enabled them to win without strong pulling power at the head of the ticket. . . . In the absence of coattails, Republican candidates ran such successful campaigns that probably a majority of the winners led the ticket head in total votes cast in their districts."

GOP Registration Down

Finally, it is worth noting that Republican enrollment in New York has remained virtually static for the past 10 years while total registrations for all parties have been increasing. When Rockefeller ran in 1958, GOP enrollment was 2,802,289; in 1965, after the upward fluctuations of the presidential years had come and gone, it stood at 2,878,615.

During the same span, total registrations for all parties and independents had gone up by more than a million—from 6.3 million to 7.4 million. There was a vast increase in total registrations during this period, but the Rockefeller-captained GOP had, on net balance, picked up virtually none of them.

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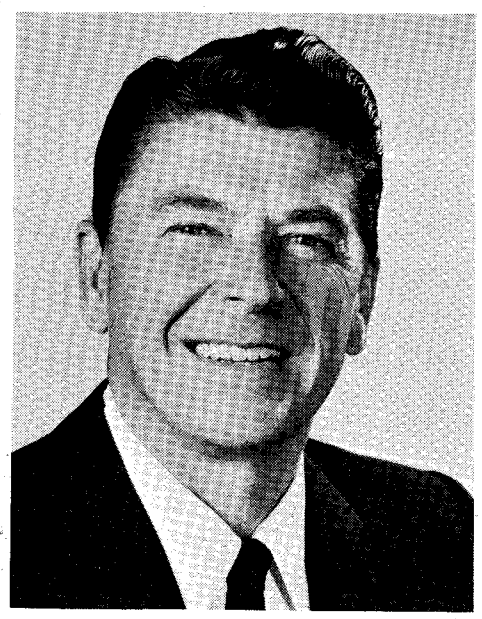

Conservative California Gov. Ronald Reagan did more in his one 1966 race to build up his state's GOP than Rocky has in New York in many years.

The contrast between Rockefeller's record in New York and the performance of Republican leaders in other states is notable. In California, three new Republican congressmen were elected in 1966, thanks in part to the pulling power of Gov. Ronald Reagan. In Florida, the GOP has achieved major legislature gains under Gov. Claude Kirk. In Ohio, the popularity of Gov. James Rhodes has helped candidates at all levels on the Republican ticket. Rep. John Ashbrook comments:

"In my own state of Ohio our governor has been very strong at the polls and this has helped all our Republican congressional delegation. I would assume the same would be so in New York if Gov. Rockefeller were all he is touted to be. In pure point of fact, he has been extremely weak at the head of the ticket. In 1966 sizable gains were being scored by Republicans . . . in industrial states like Ohio, Michigan and California . . . [where Republicans] were averaging between four and five new seats—but not that first one in New York."

Raymond Moley sums up the Rockefeller record as an asserted master-builder of strength in New York and in the nation by observing: "The record will show that Rockefeller, since he entered politics in 1958, has done precious little campaigning outside New York except in his own behalf. And there is little evidence that Rockefeller as governor has made any real effort to increase the state's Republican representation in the House . . . the New York GOP is dying in his hands."

V: On Not Being Divisive

In explaining his non-candidacy to would-be supporters, Rockefeller stressed the issue of "divisiveness." "I am convinced," he told New York Young Republicans, "that for me to get into this thing in any way would be divisive and destructive and defeating of the very objectives that we all share for the party and the country." He substantially repeated these sentiments in his March "withdrawal" statement to the press.

Such talk of non-divisiveness must have caused a number of Republicans—including Richard Nixon and Barry Goldwater—to do a double-take. "Divisive" is a label which has become affixed to Rockefeller in past elections, principally because of his bitter warfare against conservatives and refusal to support them beyond the merest lip service in general elections. This reputation has harmed Rockefeller in the party, and apparently contributed to his poor showing in New Hampshire, where a Harris Poll showed the electorate (41 per cent to 32 per cent) viewing him in just this light.

Ideological distaste compounded by resentment over party irregularity presents a double-barreled problem for Rockefeller which goes far to explain his reluctant-dragon posture. He and his advocates have in consequence worked hard to suggest that he should be and has been forgiven.

An article in the *Reporter* magazine said, for example, that "a surprisingly large number of local Republican leaders in the South" have said they could "live with Rockefeller." Roscoe Drummond, Rockefeller's most indefatigable promoter in the media, professed to find in the Midwest "a remarkably relaxed, even friendly acceptance of the possibility that the man who was most disdained by conservatives might emerge as the nominee."

It is doubtful, however, that conservative antagonism to Rockefeller can be so easily dismissed. On the record to date, it will take more than unity statements from the governor or the words of liberal journalists to secure conservative acceptance of Rocky as the Republican nominee. Rockefeller's party performance, quite apart from his liberal-Democratic ideology, is not the kind of thing the party faithful are apt to forget very quickly.

Rockefeller's behavior in the 1960 and 1964 elections reveals a consistent pattern. In both instances he staged a strenuous attack on his intraparty competition, bitterly ripping into other Republicans and seconding the campaign themes of the Democrats. Then, having damaged the Republican nominee as much as possible, he retired to Albany to watch the ticket go down the drain. The intensity of the performance varied between the two elections, but the basic pattern was the same.

Anti-GOP Attacks

When Rockefeller launched his attack on the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration in June, 1960, he had no chance whatever of winning the Republican nomination; the only result of his activity was, therefore, to wound his party deeply. White tells us Rockefeller sat down for a long conference with Emmet Hughes on Memorial Day 1960, when Nixon had the nomination wrapped up beyond possible doubt, and made the "decision to assault—an assault on American complacency." White adds that "if Messrs. Eisenhower and Nixon were hurt in the process, so be it." Rockefeller then issued a blast at "those now assuming control of the Republican party" for various purported failures.

In response to this pressure, Nixon flew to New York in the middle of the GOP convention and reached a compact on the platform. After a meeting at Rockefeller's apartment July 22-23, the New York governor issued a 14-point statement summarizing the positions on which he and Nixon had agreed. Included in the package were stepped-up spending for defense; across-the-board federal action on discrimination in housing, voting rights and employment; spending to achieve a 5 per cent "growth rate"; and a version of Medicare.

Nixon announced that he concurred in these proposals, and several of them were subsequently wedged into the platform at Chicago—over the bitter protests of conservatives and the members of the platform committee. The resulting internal problems for Nixon deriving from this episode played a contributing role in his defeat the following November.

Having made as much trouble as possible for his party before the convention, Rockefeller did virtually nothing to support it in the fall. Critical commentary on this score became so extensive, in fact, that Rockefeller's ally, then-state chairman L. Judson Morehouse, issued a defensive statement detailing Rocky's speech-making activities in New York state. The New York *Post*, long a Rockefeller backer, made this analysis of the situation:

"Obviously, Rockefeller went through the motions; perhaps however, the electorate has learned to detect the difference between motion and emotion. Conceivably it has been demonstrated anew that a man who doesn't have his heart in his mission is a poor, unpersuasive advocate, no matter how hard he tried to pretend allegiance to the cause in which he doesn't believe."

A possible motive for Rockefeller's lack of commitment to the Nixon cause was the fact that, with Nixon eliminated, Rockefeller was thought (incorrectly) to have the inside track to the '64 nomination. The New York *Herald-Tribune* commented that "Mr. Nixon's loss to Sen. Kennedy was a further advance for Gov. Rockefeller, although it would be unfair to suggest that the governor sees it in precisely those terms. This succession of events places Gov. Rockefeller in a solid position to remind fellow Republicans that he is far from through. . . ."

In 1964 Rockefeller didn't even bother to go through the motions. He flayed Sen. Goldwater before, during and after the convention and proceeded to dump the ticket in the fall. In one 1963 blast Rockefeller described Goldwater conservatives with words like "subversion," "radical," "extremist," "roughshod," and "intimidation."

Occasion for this statement was the conservative victory in the Young Republican National Federation—turning back Rockefeller's long-running effort to control the organization and defeating his chosen candidate. But the YR controversy was only a springboard to Rocky's larger purpose.

Liberal columnist Robert Novak explains:

" . . . the furor over the rightist antics of the Young Republicans was the pretext, not the reason. . . . Party discord now was necessary for Rockefeller to stage a comeback. He needed to stir up ancient animosities, to purposely reopen the schism he had spent two and a half years trying to close [between himself and the conservatives]. He needed to become the champion of the party's 'Eisenhower wing' against the right. Without the internal bloodletting, Rockefeller was dead."

In the name of "moderation," that is, Rockefeller deliberately set out to engender party hatreds—a tactic which he continued to pursue off and on throughout the ensuing year. In New Hampshire and California, he hammered at the Social Security and nuclear themes—putting out a California flyer attempting to paint Goldwater as irresponsible and asking, "Which man do you want in the H-bomb room?"

Just as he helped build up the "missile gap" issue against Nixon, so did Rockefeller help the Democrats make their case against Goldwater in '64. The idea that Goldwater was some kind of madman, Theodore White says, was pinned on him "first by Rockefeller, then by Scranton, then by Johnson. . . . What Rockefeller had begun in the spring, Scranton had finished in June and at the convention:

"The painting for the American people of a half-crazed leader indifferent to the needs of American society at home and eager to plunge the nation into war abroad . . . Rockefeller and Scranton had drawn up the indictment, Lyndon Johnson was the prosecutor. Goldwater was cast as the defendant."

Is it likely, in view of this performance, that Republican conservatives are willing to forgive and forget with Nelson Rockefeller?

Goldwater has stated: "I don't see how any Republican could support Gov. Rockefeller for the presidency. There's such a thing as loyalty. . . . Rockefeller dumped Nixon and me, so I just can't frankly see how any Republican can support him. . . . Arizona will vote . . . for any Republican with the exception of Rockefeller, and I don't think he can be nominated."

Like sentiments have been expressed by another conservative leader, Rep. John Ashbrook of Ohio. *Time* had attempted to cite Ashbrook, who is chairman of the American Conservative Union, as a conservative who was willing to accept Rockefeller in '68. In a letter to *Time*, Ashbrook disabused its readers of this erroneous notion. Rockefeller, said the congressman, "is the one man who cannot unite the Republican party. If by some extraordinarily perverse twist of fate, he were to be nominated by the convention in Miami Beach, I would have to consider at that time whether I could even support him for election."

Human Events Poll

These statements of coolness toward Rocky represent only the tip of the icicle . When leading conservative spokesmen express themselves in these

Who's Behind Rocky Campaign?

These three men are key organizers in the pro-Rocky drive:

Emmet John Hughes. Philosophically a liberal Democrat, Hughes recently relinquished his column in **Newsweek** and joined Rockefeller's staff to head up the governor's unannounced bid for the Republican presidential nomination. In **The Ordeal of Power**, published in 1963, Hughes said he found himself "a comrade, in purpose and temper, of the Democrats—and not the conservative ones. I still do."

Stewart R. Mott. Mott is head of a "grass roots" organization for Rockefeller called the "Coalition for a Republican Alternative" that was set up with the aid of Sens. Thruston Morton and Jacob Javits. Mott has admitted to **Human Events** he has voted Democratic more times than he has voted Republican. As recently as March 2, he described himself as a "Stevenson, Kennedy, Great Society, Liberal, Independent Democrat." In February of this year, Mott gave $2,000 to the Democratic party in Michigan.

J. Irwin Miller. An Indiana industrialist, Miller is chairman of the "Rockefeller for President" committee, also set up with the aid of Sen. Thruston Morton. A former President (1960-1963) of the very liberal National Council of Churches and a key organizer of the 1963 civil rights March on Washington, Miller has done many chores for the Johnson Administration. In 1965 he headed up an LBJ task force on East-West trade which recommended expanded trade with Communist countries.

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terms, one may safely guess the feelings of the rank and file are even more intense. Just how much more was suggested by a *Human Events* poll indicating that conservative defections from the GOP ticket would be enormous should Rockefeller or one of his "moderate" cousins be the candidate.

The poll showed that, if Rockefeller were the GOP nominee, no less than 35 per cent of these poll respondents would defect from the ticket—23 per cent to George Wallace, 12 per cent to President Johnson. By way of contrast, defections if Ronald Reagan were the candidate would be held to 12 per cent, 13 per cent if the nominee were Nixon.

What a Rockefeller ascendancy might imply for the GOP emerges from the history of New York's fledgling Conservative party, founded in 1962 and now a major influence in Empire State politics. The progress of this insurgent group has lifted eyebrows in New York and caused many Republicans—although apparently not Rockefeller himself—to rethink the wisdom of pursuing a leftward course.

In 1962, running a candidate against Rockefeller, the Conservatives drew 141,877 votes. In the 1966 election, Conservative gubernatorial candidate Paul G. Adams upped this to an amazing 510,023 ballots.

As a result, the Conservative party hopped over the Liberals and secured Row "C" on the New York ballot. This will separate the Liberals from the Democrats on the ballot form, rendering it more difficult for the Liberals to work their peculiar magic when the voters enter the polling booth. It also shows that the Conservatives have an important bloc of votes to bestow or withhold.

The response of many New York Republicans was suggested by the March 1968 revelation that Republicans in Nassau County would give their backing to Conservative Mason Hampton for the congressional seat in New York's 5th District. This means Hampton will run as a Conservative, but that his name will also appear on the Republican line on the ballot. Viewing this arrangement, the liberal GOP Ripon Society professed itself shocked that the Nassau County GOP "could surrender to blackmail and press Republicans to endorse Mason Hampton in the light of his Conservative party record."

The Ripon spokesman further noted that the candidacy of Conservative Werner Pleus in a local Long Island election in 1967 had in all probability prevented the election of a liberal Republican candidate:

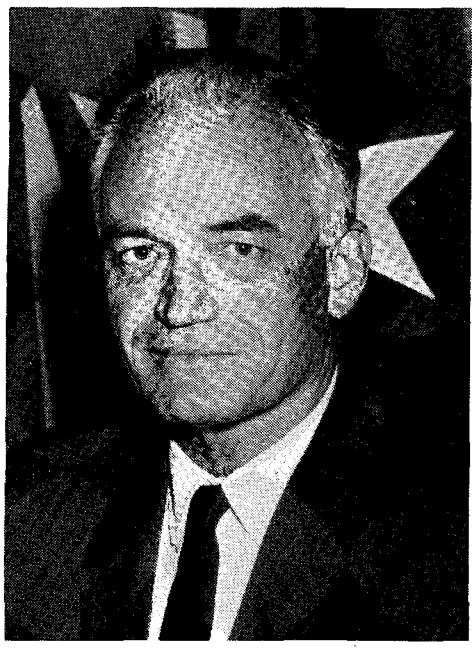
Conservative votes have also spelled defeat for other candidates who did not receive their endorsement, victory for many who did. The result, according to *Newsday:* "Long Island Republicans and Democrats, acting like rivals for an attractive young woman they once spurned as an awkward teen-ager, will openly woo the Conservative party in 1968."

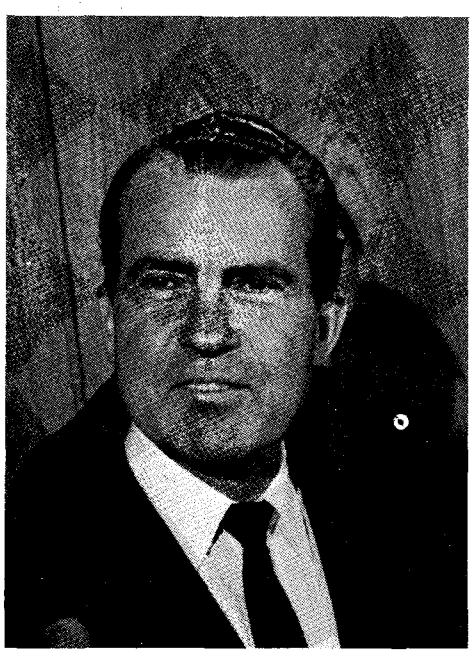
The achievement of the Conservative party has been to disprove a principal argument of Rockefeller-style Republicans for the past 20 years and more: That the GOP can take its conservative members for granted, since they have "no place to go," and set out after liberal Democratic votes. The New York Conservatives have demonstrated that traditional Republicans do indeed have someplace to go, and that when the GOP strays too far to the left they will not hesitate to go there.

The lesson for the national Republican party, in '68 and afterward, should be apparent. If this is what has happened under a Rockefeller-dominated GOP in New York, what might be the result of a Rockefeller-dominated GOP in the country at large?

A conservative counter-thrust which can do so well in the Empire State would obviously do even better in the West, Midwest and South—where conservatives are proportionately more numerous. It seems likely that a Rockefeller-style Republican party would cause many millions of actual or potential Republican voters to seek lodgement elsewhere.

One can readily understand the Conservatives' feelings. Down through the years, traditional Republicans have given their support to liberal-moderate Republican candidates, assuming that, when the time came, the liberals would reciprocate. In 1964 the time did come, and the liberals, led by Rockefeller, demonstrated that party loyalty was strictly a one-way street. "Unity" meant the conservatives should support the liberals, but not the other way around.





Presidential candidates Goldwater (left) and Nixon were both given the cold shoulder by Rockefeller, although in 1960 the New York governor was more subtle.

Rockefeller on Viet Nam

Q. Governor, could you please outline for us your views on Viet Nam?
A. Sure. My position on Viet Nam is very simple . . . I think that our concept as a nation, and that our actions, have not kept pace with the changing conditions. And therefore our actions are not completely relevant today to the realities of the magnitude and the complexity of the problems that we face in this conflict.
Q. Governor, what does that mean?
A. Just what I said.
Q. Governor, you said that your Viet Nam policy will offer constructive alternatives to President Johnson . . . [and] to Mr. Nixon's Viet Nam policy . . .
A. Well, I'm not in a position to discuss anybody's policies, frankly. . . .
Q. Governor Rockefeller, should we now cease the bombing of North Viet Nam?
A. I am not prepared to make any tactical suggestion.

—Gov. Rockefeller at the press conference announcing his formal non-candidacy, March 21, 1968

VI: The Disenchanted

Rockefeller's problems with the conservative Republicans bear directly on the question of whether he or a candidate in his image is an electable commodity. Given the GOP's present enrollment, it seems doubtful. The poll results show the Republicans represent perhaps a quarter of the electorate—and that the conservatives make up better than half of the Republicans. Can the GOP, already in a weak minority position, afford to throw away a sizable chunk of its existing strength? That does not seem, on the whole, a very promising formula for victory.

Rockefeller's supporters by-pass this consideration, however, to focus on another: The idea that he would augment Republican strength by making a powerful appeal to Democrats and independents. As columnist Tom Wicker observes, "it is Rockefeller's major asset that he is so widely considered the only Republican" who could gain these votes. It is presumed that these dissidents can be won over from the Democratic party by a liberal Republican.

Republican candidates have run on this premise before—Willkie, Dewey, Nixon in 1960—without success. There is obviously something wrong with the argument. That something is the fact that the most sizable bloc of Democrats who can be won away from the national party and united with the GOP's existing base are not more liberal than the national Democratic party, but more conservative.

The existence of these Democrats, unhappy with Administration policies in the realm of spending, taxes, inflation, crime and welfarism, is reflected in all poll results, which show vast majorities concerned about such subjects.

Rockefeller is the Republican candidate least equipped to capitalize on this dissent. With respect to all these issues, his stance is the same as the Democratic party's and in some cases to the left of it. Rocky has outflanked New York Democrats on the left, making them look like economizers by comparison; he is a high-tax and high-spending candidate. How can such a candidate help the GOP capitalize on discontent over the big-spending policies of the "Great Society"?

The issue on which Rockefeller is thought to have political sex appeal to dissident Democrats is Viet Nam—the idea being that Democrats of dove-like tendency would more easily cross over for a Rockefeller than for a Nixon or Reagan. Even if we put aside the confusion of arguments recommending Rockefeller as a hawk on the one hand and a dove on the other, this approach is not very convincing. The most notable flaw in it is that, should McCarthy or Robert Kennedy be the Democratic candidate, the doves will obviously stay put. Or, should any kind of "peace" settlement be effected in Viet Nam, the "dove" issue would dissolve irrespective of who the Democratic or Republican candidates might be.

Equally to the point is the fact that, to the extent Viet Nam discontents do affect the election, they are less likely to be dovish than hawkish. The Rockefeller promoters have assiduously ignored the fact that the hawk candidates outdrew the doves in both New Hampshire and Wisconsin, and that Gallup Poll figures from December through February showed "hawk" sentiment rapidly on the increase. Should the Democrats nominate a Vietnik candidate, this feeling would redound heavily in favor of the GOP—unless it, too, adopted an accommodationist posture.

Republicans would also be well-advised to consider the experience of George Romney.

In the wake of his 1966 win in Michigan, Romney was rated the leading GOP candidate. He thereupon embarked on a long round of dovish statements, more or less in the pattern suggested by liberal GOP counselors now. After a year of this, he found his candidacy all but obliterated, and was obliged to leave the race.

Granted Romney's oratorical problems, the one point he did manage to convey to everybody was that he was against our involvement in Viet Nam and wanted to swing U.S. policy in favor of some kind of dove formula for "neutralization." The more he elaborated on this point, the further he plummeted in public esteem. Romney's experience does not suggest that a "dove" line is a good way for a Republican presidential candidate to garner popular support, either within the party or outside it.

Having been given that object lesson, what reasons would conservatives have for supporting Rockefeller in '68? What motive would they have for backing a man who openly dumped the conservative candidate in '64? Whatever party support he might have been able to claim in previous presidential bids, Rockefeller forfeited by his performance of four years ago.

This conclusion is further supported by the strategic considerations involved in a possible Rockefeller candidacy. Should Rockefeller replace Johnson in the White House, there would, on the record, be few changes in national policy; the change in the Republican party would, however, be immense. Conservative Republican dissent against leftward policies would be virtually silenced; and, as Rockefeller has shown by his rule-or-ruin tactics in '60 and '64, his performance toward conservatives in New York, and his vendetta against the Young Republicans, the conservatives themselves would be candidates for political extinction.

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Assuming that Viet Nam remains an issue through November, it should be apparent that the potential dissent to be harvested there is not among the left-wing Democrats but among the more conservative ones. Should Rockefeller be the candidate, untold numbers of these Democrats would either stay put or defect to the third-party candidacy of George Wallace. Indeed, it would be difficult to invent a Republican more certain to insure that Wallace makes an all-out race and that, in so doing, he would secure an enormous vote.

By emulating the liberal Democrats on every major point, Rockefeller would confirm in full everything Wallace has been saying about Republican failure to oppose the liberal tendency in the nation.

If Rockefeller has so little support within the party, and is in fact not the "winner" he is made out to be, how has he managed to stake out his position of influence and stir such speculation about his prospects?

The answer to that question, as given by his journalistic supporters, is that he runs strongly in the polls—opinion surveys testing his popularity in a hypothetical fall election. Since Rockefeller does so well in these analyses, it is contended, he is the man the party should nominate. The polls are his ultimate resource, his chief claim to major status within the party.

Rocky's 'Strength'

This argument brings us down to the one real source of strength that Rockefeller does possess, above and beyond the potencies of money and determination: His powerful support in the communications media. For the polls are in large measure a reflection of media willingness to play up the Rockefeller candidacy; they provide a feedback mechanism for the constant drumfire of Rockefeller publicity in the political columns and the magazines.

Political polls have a certain obvious utility, especially when they yield fairly stable results over long periods of time. Despite their flaws and uncertainties, they provide us with our only means of testing public attitudes on major issues before the nation. As indices of personal popularity, however, they are highly volatile and susceptible to media pressures. They often reflect exposure, name identification, and the quality of media commentary.

Thus popularity surveys over the past 12 months have variously shown Romney far out in front and Romney far behind; Nixon trailing and Nixon with a commanding lead; Rockefeller with small support and Rockefeller with large support; Johnson losing to the major Republican contenders and Johnson defeating the major Republican contenders; and so on. It is interesting to recall that all the poll-bred hosannas now being conferred on Rockefeller were a few months ago also conferred on Romney.

Concerted build-up in the media can do a great deal to boost a candidate's stock in the poll ratings—particularly if the right questions are asked at the right time. This was made very clear in 1964, when William Scranton's phantom candidacy zoomed out of nowhere to attain sizable poll ratings, almost entirely on the strength of magazine and television exposure. Romney's early ratings were built up in much the same fashion. The Rockefeller build-up is simply a reprise of these earlier exercises.

Thus last summer we saw tentative suggestions being floated of a "Rockefeller-Reagan" ticket, designed to blunt conservative hostility to the New York governor. No sooner was this idea advanced by Rockefeller sources than a Gallup Poll appeared showing such a ticket would do very well, in effect co-opting Reagan's support for Rockefeller. (No similar poll was published showing how a Reagan-Rockefeller ticket might perform.) Since then, the enfilade of Rockefeller commentary has been steadily increasing—matched by appropriate poll results all along the way.

The method by which this has been accomplished has been well described, interestingly enough, in the New York *Times*. Noting Rockefeller's advance in the poll results, *Times* reporter Richard Reeves asserts:

"The press—especially the men who write and edit newspapers and magazines—is the major force behind Rocky now. The journalists who lined up with Lyndon in 1964 started looking for new heroes when LBJ doggedly started to go all the way in Viet Nam. Last year the typewriters of the nation turned admiringly to Robert F. Kennedy . . . [but it then appeared] Bobby wasn't going anyplace in 1968. . . . It had to be a Republican . . . [and] who else but Nelse? Then it started—the magazine covers, the columns, the feature stories. The polls quickly reflect the front pages and Rockefeller starts soaring until George Gallup and Louis Harris proclaim him President by a make-believe landslide."

The same phenomenon was noted by Rockefeller-backer George Hinman when he observed that most of the talk about Rockefeller had emanated from "the publicists," and by the National Committee for an Effective Congress, when it stated that "moderate" prospects in the party had been exaggerated by press play given to selected liberal favorites. Richard Nixon has similarly observed: "I think the Establishment press tends to overestimate Rockefeller's chances and to underestimate Reagan."

Rockefeller's real source of strength as a political contender has appeared and re-appeared in the course of this article, in the assertions of liberal journalists that he is a "winner," or a "mainstreamer," or the favorite of "the governors," or whatever.

Rockefeller's devoted cadres are not to be found in the ranks of the Republican party; they are found instead in editorial chairs and copy slots of the liberal media. Their names are not Dirksen or Bliss or Ford, but Drummond and Wicker and Alsop and Lippmann.

By pumping up Rockefeller over the short pull, these commentators can provide him with the needed public visibility, the mistaken impression that he can lead the GOP to victory, and widespread misconception among Republicans concerning what their fellow Republicans are thinking—all of which can be fed back for further publicity uses through the sounding board of the polls. But the basic realities of Republican politics, and the arithmetic of national victory, remain essentially the same.

The make-believe landslides confected in the media have no necessary relationship to what will happen in the GOP convention or the fall election. Only if the publicity fusillade can induce a kind of auto-hypnosis in the Republican party, convincing party leaders that Rockefeller is popular simply because people think he is popular, can this routine secure his nomination.

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Activity Noted in Thailand, Laos

Communists Building Up Strength During Bombing Cut-Back

By PAUL SCOTT

That bright Viet Nam peace glow is beginning to look more and more like a dark smoke screen to cover a new Communist build-up in Southeast Asia.

Now that the U.S and North Viet Nam are on the threshold of direct talks, Hanoi is moving increasingly large numbers of troops and supplies into Laos and Thailand.

This apparent move to widen the Viet Nam conflict into a full-scale Southeast Asian war started late in 1967 and appears to have escalated in the past month.

Since President Johnson put into effect the so-called "Acheson-Rostow" plan of systematically cutting back on U.S. bombing of North Viet Nam and Communist-held areas in Laos, Hanoi's troop and supply movements in these two countries have more than tripled.

The Johnson Administration's de-escalation plan prepared by former Secretary of State Dean Acheson and Dr. Walt Rostow, controversial White House adviser, halted the bombing first at the 20th parallel, with progressive halts following at the 19th, 18th and later the 17th parallel—the dividing line between North and South Viet Nam.

The North Vietnamese immediately began taking advantage of the staged bombing halt to move tons and tons of supplies from Haiphong harbor, through which comes 85 per cent of their military imports from Russia and China, into newly built bases in Laos and areas of North Viet Nam off limits to U.S. bombers.

Other military supplies and a considerable number of Chinese Communist troops are being rushed into North Viet Nam over the two rail lines and the eight main truck routes from the mainland of China, as bridges and tunnels are repaired.

In addition to restocking all their military supply bases in Laos and Cambodia, the North Vietnamese military forces are widening the guerrilla war in Thailand on another front.

The new battle area is in the eastern part of Chiang Rai Province in northern Thailand along the mountainous border with Laos.

According to Thailand's intelligence, the new terrorist groups are a mixture of North Vietnamese, mountain tribesmen, Thai Communist, and Chinese Communist trained at the guerrilla center of Ho Binh, 50 miles south of Hanoi.

In their latest report to U.S. military advisers, Thailand army officials stated that they have already killed several hundred North Vietnamese. From the scene, these officers estimate that in the past month more than 1,000 Communist terrorists moved into this new front in Thailand.

In the country's southern panhandle, Thai army officials have been fighting Communist guerrillas for more than a year. These forces appear to get their arms from Malayan Communists and from Cambodia.

Even more ominous is the Central Intelligence Agency's most recent report of a substantial build-up in recent months of a vast military logistical base in southern China along the borders of Laos and North Viet Nam.

U.S. intelligence in Hong Kong sent an estimate earlier this month to Washington that more than 250,000 Chinese Communist military personnel are now in North Viet Nam.

This CIA estimate compares with the State Department's announced figure of 50,000 Chinese support troops in North Viet Nam for repair work on the transportation systems and air defense.

Another 20,000 to 30,000 Chinese troops are also known to be camped in northern Laos, apparently waiting to move into the southern section of that strife-torn country on a signal from either Hanoi or Peking.

China has an army of 2.5 million well-trained men, organized into 170 combat divisions. As long as the port of Haiphong is open, the Chinese Communists can turn Viet Nam into another Korea—if they choose. Without this strategic port, U.S. intelligence experts say, Peking could not supply a large invasion force for any length of time in Viet Nam due to the limited transportation facilities.

Several high-ranking U.S. intelligence officers have warned the White House the President's one-sided de-escalation plan could lead to a wider war in Southeast Asia, not peace in Viet Nam.

While the President's military advisers aren't openly condemning the latest curtailment of U.S. bombing of North Viet Nam, they aren't happy about it.

Gen. John P. McConnell, Air Force chief of staff, and one of the most outspoken proponents of continuing the bombing of North Viet Nam, in private talks with members of Congress attacked the new limitations in carefully chosen language. He argued that "direct air attacks and interdiction strikes are the most dynamic factors influencing the outcome of the war in Viet Nam."

As a member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, all of whom opposed the recent curtailment, Gen. McConnell told lawmakers the bombing is necessary to keep the North Vietnamese from launching a Korea-type invasion of South Viet Nam.

Despite the new F-111A fighter-bomber's poor record in Viet Nam, Gen. McConnell said the Air Force will "be successful in realizing the expected dividends from this new weapon system after it is fully tested in battle."

Captured Communist documents in Viet Nam suggest Hanoi is ready for months of grueling bargaining and a lot more fighting in the months ahead. Their objective: "disintegrate and isolate" both the U.S. and South Viet Nam government from the rest of the world so both can be toppled by a combination of internal and external forces. Hanoi's immediate objective is to get a total cessation of air strikes before the end of May.

* * *

The coming 10 days to two weeks could be the most critical in American history.

Unless there is a last-minute switch in the Communists' timetable, this is the target period which the Kremlin has set for massive new violence and disruption in American cities.

Only the presence of federal troops and national guardsmen may head off the brewing trouble.

Most likely objective of the firebombs this time could be the vast U.S. postal system and the millions in federal income tax returns, checks and money orders that flood the mails during this period.

While numerous delays in delivering the mail occurred in the big cities during the riots, the mail eventually got through. As if "soul brother" were written on the buildings, none of the post offices was hit during the "first round" of the organized firebombings that shocked more than 115 of the nation's cities.

Arrest records forwarded to the Justice Department show that more than 100 of the thousands arrested during the riots throughout the country were Post Office employes.

Since more than 50 per cent of the nation's mail is handled in only 33 post offices in the large cities, the destruction of the U.S. postal system and the millions of income tax returns could bring on a temporary financial catastrophe and service problem for the federal government.

Unless there are last-minute changes in schedule, massive demonstrations planned by other radical groups will be telescoped during this critical period.

As reported earlier, the Communist-infiltrated Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) in a series of meetings throughout the U.S., have laid plans for 10 days of violence and disruption in major American cities from April 21 to 30.

These critical days could also see the start of the Washington invasion by the followers of the late Dr. King. April 22 was the original date, since postponed "a week or two."

As this period begins, there is growing evidence the Kremlin is flooding this country with millions of dollars so local Communists can buy the services of black militants, teen-agers and others.

Testifying behind closed doors before the House Appropriations subcommittee which handles funds for the FBI, Director J. Edgar Hoover told the startled legislators that in recent years the Kremlin had pumped more than $5 million into the U.S.

Another high-placed government security official stated that Hoover's estimate "is a very conservative one." "The Kremlin has sent that much money into the U.S. in the past 12 months to ignite the present revolution," he charged.

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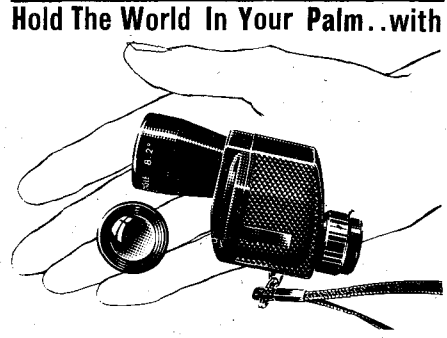

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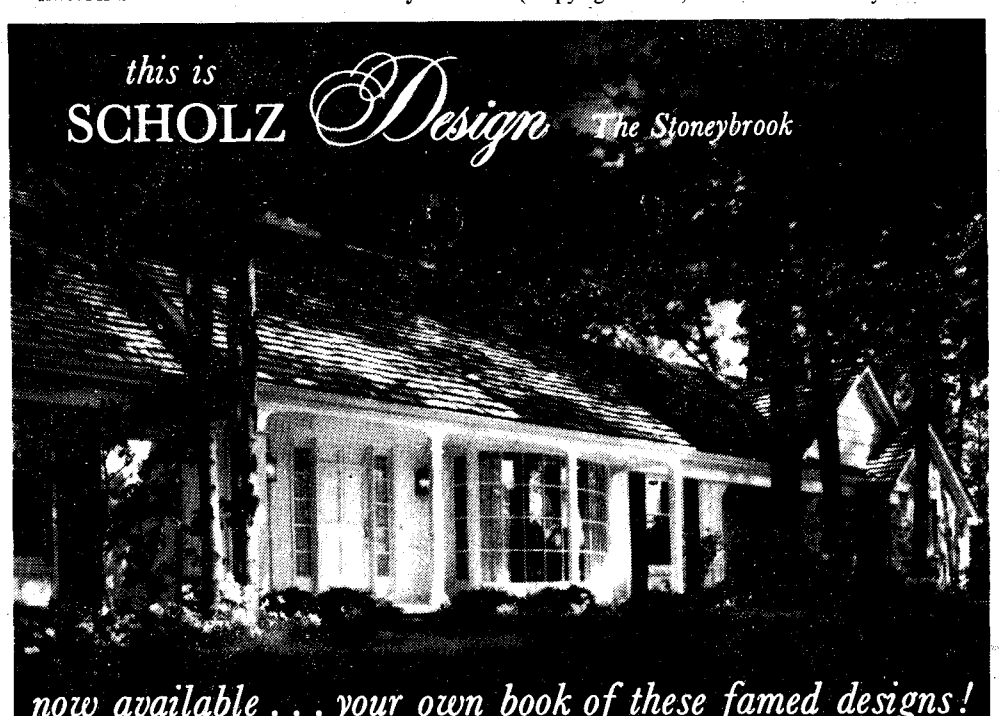

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Canal Giveaway Questioned In View of Recent Trouble

By JENKIN LLOYD JONES

Recent events in the Republic of Panama in which President Marco Robles refused to accept impeachment by the National Assembly and, instead, sent national guardsmen to clean out the opposition headquarters with tear gas should make us pensive.

It should particularly make pensive those Miss Nancies in America who have been pressing our government to sign treaties that would end U.S. control over the Panama Canal. But it won't. For these characters are committed to the dogma that the United States can only improve its image in the world if it abandons its positions of power and abdicates its responsibilities.

The theory that the United States has somehow been exploiting the Panamanians is hardier than jimson weed and just as pernicious. Teddy Roosevelt practically created their country by giving more than a little aid to Panamanian revolutionaries back in 1903 as they sought to "throw off the yoke" of Colombia.

It had been a light yoke, but earlier in the year the Colombian senate balked at ratifying a generous treaty that would permit the U.S. to build the canal. Leaders of the Colombian province of Panama, fearful that an alternative Nicaraguan route would be used, started the revolution and by the merest chance American gunboats showed up to discourage the Colombian navy. The revolution's death toll consisted of a Chinaman and a mule. In 1922 Colombia agreed that "all misunderstandings" were satisfied in return for a U.S. payment of $25 million.

Under terms reached with the new Republic of Panama, the United States agreed to pay the republic $10 million in cash and an annuity of $250,000. Panama agreed to forever relinquish sovereignty over the Canal Zone.

It is popular among our bleeding hearts to describe such a treaty as gunboat diplomacy. But what did the Panamanians lose? Before Uncle Sam moved in, the isthums was a famous fever hole. Travelers took their lives in their hands just making a two-hour transit on the railroad. Uncle Sam cleaned up the fever.

The canal remains the No.1 employer of Panamanian labor. Without the canal, what passengers in this modern age would shift from ship to daycoach to ship again? And if cargo had to be offloaded, entrained and reloaded, it would be cheaper just to send it around the Horn. But for the canal, Panama City and Colon would be villages.

Still Panamanian politicians have perpetually complained, and we have perpetually backed up. In 1939 we upped the annual ante from $250,000 to $430,000. In 1955 we raised the payments from $430,000 to $1.93 million. And now President Johnson is trying to sell Congress on a new treaty that would turn control of the Canal Zone over to the Panamanian government and include "appropriate political, economic and social integration," whatever that means.

In addition, some Panamanian leaders have recently made new demands for half of the gross tolls, the United States to pay for all the operation and upkeep.

But isn't less than $2 million a year too cheap a rent for the privilege of running the canal through the isthmus? Strangely, no one seems to mention the $90 million in loans and the $82 million in free grants which Uncle Sam has handed to Panama since 1946, exclusive of military aid.

It would be normal for the government of any small country possessing such a strategic location to try to wring as much from it as possible. But the real force trying to pry America loose from control over the canal is not hard to identify. All the Communist parties of the world are unanimous in denouncing America for its cruelty to the Panamanians.

On the trade routes of the world there are four major bottlenecks—Gibraltar, Suez, Panama and the Bosporus/Dardanelles.

Russian sea power already in the Mediterranean makes it unlikely that the Turks would ever dare close the last. Suez is blocked since the recent Arab-Israeli war, but when Egypt regains control there's little doubt about which great nation will control Egypt. The only time world communism has backed Spain's Franco government was in last summer's abortive effort to push the British off Gibraltar. And that leaves Panama.

Before we sign a soft-headed treaty, let's imagine the results of a Castro-style coup made irreversible by terror.

The obvious consequences of a Panama Canal giveaway have caused Spruille Braden, former assistant secretary of state for Latin-American affairs, former Navy Secretary Charles Edison, Sen. Strom Thurmond and Representative Daniel Flood and H.R. Gross to set up an American Emergency Committee on the Panama Canal.

More power to them!

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The Rights Movement: Often Heat Without Light

By RAYMOND MOLEY

It may be that the tragic end of Martin Luther King Jr. and the emotional convulsions that followed will bring about certain clarity to the movement for Negro rights. At least that must be the hope of those who kept calm during the hurricane. But if that hope is to be realized, responsible Negro leaders and their white supporters must offer more practical and attainable objectives than they have stated up to now. It may not be popular to say this at this time, but I suggest, nevertheless, that too much of the leadership in that movement has been provided by some ministers of the gospel.

The ministers, as is their professional wont, speak in terms of faith and hope. These are fine words because they lift the spirits of their flocks above the hard realities in which those listeners live their lives. But these visions project those who entertain them into the unknown and unknowable. Too often this has led some men of the cloth to talk about the "higher law," an expression which had a part in bringing on our Civil War. A modern exponent of that sort of thing is the Rev. William Sloane Coffin Jr., who said on one occasion:

"When laws begin to dominate rather than to serve men, far from staving off chaos, they begin to invite it . . . it is only a good law, not any law, that stands between man and chaos . . . respect what is legal, but be more concerned with what is right."

Thus, young people—all people—are encouraged to decide for themselves what is right. What laws are to be obeyed and what are to be rejected.

That sort of thinking translated into the idiom of a demagogue is what Stokely Carmichael used in a press conference on April 5:

"We have to retaliate for the deaths of our leaders. The execution for those deaths will not be in the courtrooms. They're going to be in the streets of the United States of America."

The relationship between these two expressions is not far to seek, for since Dr. Coffin would assume a status of equality among men, Carmichael's "right" is just as valid as that of the chaplain of Yale University.

Carmichael's way has already produced the chaos which Dr. Coffin says is caused by laws of which he disapproves. The dead and the maimed and the homeless and charred city blocks are certainly a considerable part of the grim harvest of reformers who permit their hearts to drown the voice of their minds.

The training of ministers—even those who like Dr. Coffin have had formal education—consists altogether too much in philosophical theory and the art of exhortation. There is little study of the slow evolution of civilized order by laws, custom and constitutional principle.

Behind the structure of our Anglo-American civilization there was a period of hundreds of years of growth. That certainly should teach us that the integration into our society of a relatively late but numerous minority is not a matter of this year or the next. Even our Supreme Court has recognized that.

There is ample evidence that forward steps have been taken in the past two or three decades. The Negro's lot is a great deal better than it was at the end of World War II.

What are needed now are specific objectives for the next generation. But impatience, the child of emotion, is fostered by the preachments of some rights leaders. Time should be bought for orderly change. But the one virtue that has not been taught by the ministers to whom I have referred is patience.

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LBJ RESIGNATION?—Rumors persist that prior to the Democratic convention, LBJ will resign so that Hubert Humphrey will have a leg up on Bobby Kennedy. One White House aide, close to Johnson, says he knows nothing about the report, but adds: "I certainly can't deny it. After what's happened so far this year, nothing is impossible."

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Federal Employes to Be Unionized

AFL-CIO Pushes for New Executive Order

By RALPH de TOLEDANO

The Hatch Act makes it illegal for federal employes to take part in political activities. If President Johnson and the AFL-CIO have their way, those same employes will be compelled, on pain of losing their jobs, to contribute to the financing of political campaigns. Since the AFL-CIO has become a full partner of the Democratic party, this means that when and if the Republican party wins control of Congress and the White House, it will be contributing to its own future defeat.

Right now, of course, there are many, many thousands of Republicans in the federal employ. An Executive Order, now in the works, will force them (1) to join a union, and (2) to help fill union coffers at a rate estimated by the National Right to Work Committee of $700 million a year.

If this sounds incredible, the facts should convince you.

For some time the AFL-CIO has been deeply worried by its failure to increase union membership. It hoped to make up for the failure of American white-collar workers to flock to the fold by organizing the three million federal government, as well as the additional millions of state and municipal, employes. The rash of strikes among teachers and other civil servants was a part of Big Labor's strategy.

To encourage government unionism, President Kennedy issued Executive Order 10988 in 1962. But he very carefully circumscribed that encouragement by barring any compulsion. Said the Kennedy order: "Employes of the feder government shall have, and shall be protected in the exercise of the right, freely and without fear of penalty or reprisal, to form, join and assist any employe organization or *to refrain from such activity*." The emphasis is mine.

To the chagrin of Big Labor, however, there was no mass movement to pay dues to a union which could do little for federal employes except to apply those dues to the $100-million slush fund it created and spent in the presidential year of 1964—the year, incidentally, that saw Lyndon Johnson elected by a landslide. After intensive efforts, fewer than 800,000 employes of the vast federal bureaucracy had signed up.

At labor's behest, a Labor Management Review Commission, directly responsible to the President, was put to work to draft changes in the Kennedy Executive Order. What Big Labor had in mind was spelled out by AFL-CIO President George Meany last October 23 when he testified before the commission.

He called on President Johnson to impose a system compelling those federal employes not willing to join unions to pay the equivalent of what would have been their dues to the unions.

But his proposal went far beyond this. According to his plan, these compulsory dues equivalent payments could be imposed if only 10 per cent of the employes in a given department, agency, or division of government voluntarily joined. This was minority tyranny with a vengeance. But the Meany plan, almost arrogantly laid before the President, caused little outcry. Obviously, Americans have been so accustomed to coercion that this special tax, simply for the right to hold a government job—and a tax that would benefit a special interest minority in the country—failed to stir up the citizenry.

The news now is that amendments to President Kennedy's Executive Order 10988, closely tailored to the Meany pattern, are those which the Labor Management Review Commission will offer to the President. And the President, well aware of the package he will be presented, has indicated a willingness to make it the law of the Federal Establishment by executive ukase.

To protest this, the National Right to Work Committee placed ads in the Washington *Post* on April 16 and in the April 24 issue of the *Federal Times*, warning official Washington of what is in store for it. But advertisements alone cannot put a crimp in this money-and-power grab of Big Labor. A fire must be lit under the Congress to take up arms against tyrannical rule by a minority within a minority and to prevent what is clearly a violation of the Constitution, particularly the 1st Amendment.

That fire can be lit by letters to the President, to Chairman Mike Monroney of the Senate Civil Service Committee, to Chairman Thaddeus Dulski of the House Civil Service Committee, and to your senators and representatives. This will be an arduous task for voters and taxpayers busy with their own concerns. But if the new proposals are not defeated, it can give Big Labor a stranglehold on the electoral process which will be well-nigh impossible to break.

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How the Orientals Approach Negotiations

By HENRY J. TAYLOR

Much more than meets the eye is involved in the question of where preliminary peace talks with North Viet Nam would take place.

The Oriental antagonist begins by carefully selecting what appears to the Western mind to be a small point. This is usually a mere procedural detail. It is, however, his testing pitch.

If you give in he interprets the give-in as weakness. His strategy is to get you accustomed to giving in and he tries to start the habit of surrender at once. Then he expands his demands from that moment forward.

I have experienced this Oriental technique time and again in Geneva conferences. Korea, in turn, gave a consequential example, instantly recognized by a man who thoroughly understood the Oriental mentality: Gen. Douglas MacArthur.

The Red Chinese never asked for the Korean cease-fire talks. We did all that, just as President Johnson has so repeatedly asked the North Vietnamese to talk, culminating in his March 31 television appeal.

On June 23, 1951, Jacob Malik, the Soviet ambassador to the United Nations, in a radio interview in New York City, simply stated that the Soviet Union hoped there might be truce talks with the North Koreans.

Nevertheless, Washington filled the world's air channels with radio truce messages to the Red North Koreans and Red Chinese. In all dialects and around the clock we asked: "Do you want to talk about a truce? Will you meet us?" We asked the North Korean to meet us aboard the Danish hospital ship *Jutlandia* in the harbor of Pusan, Korea, much as President Johnson suggested Geneva on March 31. Geneva was the only specific proposal President Johnson stated.

The enemy did not even answer our Korea appeal for five days.

The morning after we began asking the enemy to this meeting I was with Gen. MacArthur at his 90 Church Street office in New York City. He predicted, and instantly, what the Orientals would do.

"They'll begin by knocking down the only specific proposal we've made," Gen MacArthur told me. "We'll think it's too small to matter. It's too small to us, but not small to the Oriental. In my opinion, the North Koreans will begin by refusing to meet us at Pusan. They will use that refusal to test how anxious we are to sue for peace at this moment. They will substitute some other place. This will probably be some location behind their own lines, but in any case they will certainly knock down our specific proposal. And, if we give in, the talks will go on indefinitely and they'll never stop expanding their demands."

As MacArthur predicted, the Oriental did grasp at the single specific and did blackball it. The North Koreans insisted on their own choice of location and we gave in.

Peace celebrations on the New York Stock Exchange, or elsewhere, are very, very, premature. Nothing, absolutely nothing, will now hurry this Oriental.

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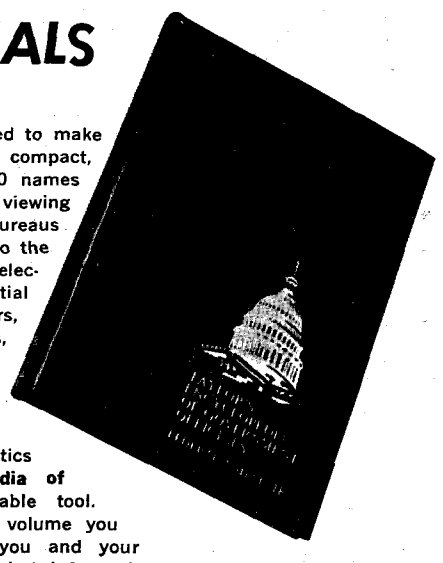

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LBJ's Commission blames whites for race riots. This new book places the blame where it belongs — *on the President's own Poverty Program!*

POVERTY IS WHERE THE MONEY IS

by Shirley Scheibla, Associate Editor and Washington Correspondent of *Barron's*

A SELECTION OF THE CONSERVATIVE BOOK CLUB

From the floor of Congress:

"Mr. Shriver a few weeks ago was asked how many people had been relieved from poverty by the program. His answer was about 50,000. This, gentlemen, is about the number of people employed by the government, directly or indirectly, under this great political fiesta.

— Rep. Glenn Andrews (R., Ala.)

NOBODY REALLY KNOWS how much America spends annually to relieve or eradicate poverty. Estimates run as high as $35 billion on the federal level alone, and many billions more by state and local governments, by private groups and individuals.

With all this, the federal program is a failure and a scandal. Shirley Scheibla, in this headline-making book (parts of which have, even before publication, been reprinted eight times in the *Congressional Record*) ticks off the reasons why: 1. The poverty program fosters socialism, undermines free enterprise. 2. It is *not* helping the poor. 3. It is choking the American taxpayer with costly boondoggles. 4. It has been infiltrated by Communists and other subversives. 5. It is fostering proletarian violence and revolution. 6. It is a Democrat vote-buying scheme that makes the old Hopkins-Roosevelt WPA look like penny-pinching.

Significantly, the program was sparked by Socialist Michael Harrington's book, *The Other America*. Harrington's "modest" family budget included money for golf, piano lessons, airline tickets, power lawnmowers, phonograph records, air conditioners and other bare necessities. (Do you suddenly feel poor?)

Walter Heller followed up with a memo. Jack Kennedy speed-read it, and we were off on a "war" that already has damaged the dollar and helped send cities up in smoke . . . a real war, but not on poverty. Whatever the political or even altruistic intentions of its founders, Mrs. Scheibla makes clear that the cadres in the povery war are now taking aim at the vital organs of America. Bureaucratic bungling is bad enough, but when bureaucratic bungling plays into the hands of revolutionaries, we are in a national crisis. A few specifics from Mrs. Scheibla's detailed indictment:

$13 million for New York's Mobilization for Youth. Subversives preach revolt, stage rent strikes, aid school boycotts. Rundown of Reds in MFY: some old names, some new ones. ▪ No Job Corps criminal, regardless of his offense, can be let go without Washington's okay. Helpless residents of Edison, New Jersey beg to have Job Corps scourge removed from their town. Washington ignores them. ▪ How Office of Economic Opportunity finances propaganda against free enterprise. ▪ Communist-style cadres move into Community Action Program. CAP sponsors boycotts and demonstrations, one of which winds up attacking a police station. ▪ The "Happy Pappy" program: $250 a month for unemployed dads — *in a state with a labor shortage.* ▪ Upward Bound, the program that encourages dropouts with substandard IQs to think they can go to college. Course content: the daily newspaper, or anything else the "students" want. ▪ An ominous new group, the Poverty Rights Action Center. Its plans for America, and for you. ▪ Poverty workers raise tensions in Rochester, Nashville, Washington, White Plains, Durham, etc. ▪ Never talked about: *the sharp decline in poverty before government made a political football out of it.* ▪ The Republican failure. Where GOP misses the point — and maybe misses the boat — in its critique of the poverty program. ▪ Shriver's disastrous foray into sex education. ▪ How poverty war fuels race riots. Role of the Communists.

Has the Poverty War Reached the Point of No Return?

Shirley Scheibla gives no final answer, but plainly she is worried. You will be too, after you read this book and see all that she has seen. Mrs. Scheibla has been dodged by Lyndon's minions, screamed at by bureaucrats, even threatened by a poverty drone. But she also reports on a hopeful sign for the Republic.

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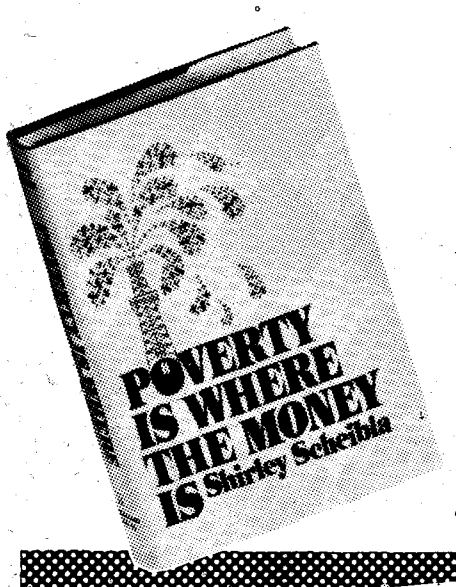

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